THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

March 1, 1947

CHINESE ABROAD

AN EDITORIAL

New Constitution Analyzed

By Tseng Yu-hao, Ph. D.

Malaya's Crisis

By Ngiam Tong-fatt

Let The Students Live!

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UNRRA'S FAILURE

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 105 PRICE CNC$2,000 Number 1

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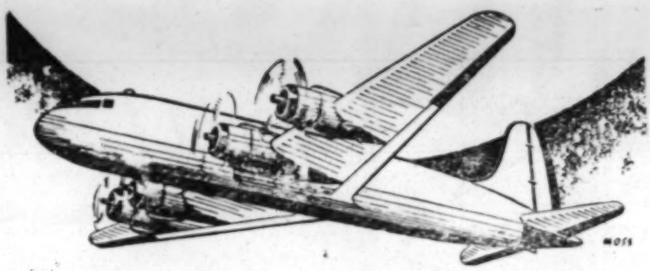

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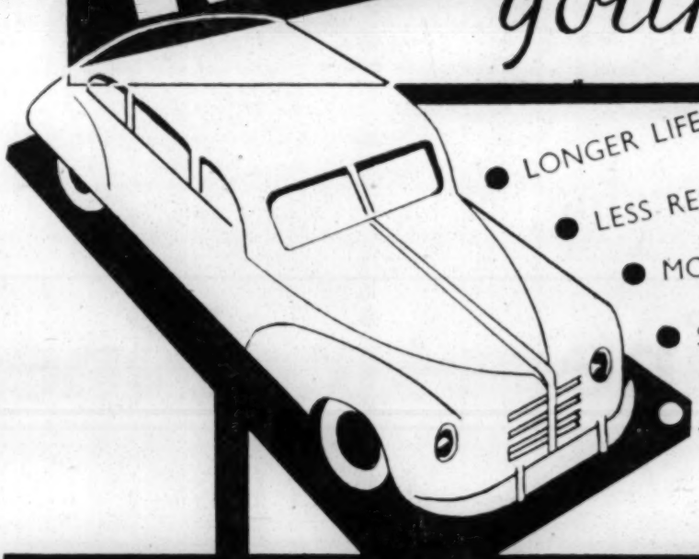

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Mob Law Here!

To The Editor:

During the second great war our allied nations spread propaganda all over the world in the name of democracy to defeat Fascism. Now Fascism is defeated. What privileges have we gained? Japan whose industries were hard hit by war is restoring her economy; within a few years she will be powerful enough again to invade China. But what about China? Her industries still wallow in stagnation. On her present course she will meet with destruction instead of economic stability.

Her markets being flooded with American goods, all commodities have fluctuated surprisingly in recent days. The gold rate rose higher and higher. Under such conditions how can we expand our industries? We anticipate that the economic crisis will become more and more serious.

In view of this problem, merchants and workmen must work together. Therefore a meeting to promote our native goods was held. Some prominent economists were invited to speak on the effect on native industries of buying foreign goods. But the result was not pleasant.

Now, Mayor Wu has said that it is the duty of the Chinese people to promote the use of native goods, and also that to oppose the sale of foreign goods is unlawful. I do not understand. I think we Chinese have the right in our own land to oppose the use of foreign goods, which is ruining our native industries. I remember when Generalissimo Chiang announced the Constitution to the people there were included freedom of publication, assembly, and so on.

In this connection I should like to tell about the recent bloody incident on Nanking Road, near Kiangse Road. I was one of the guests at that meeting. As an eyewitness I have been shown how the authorities guard our rights. Strange, we were just singing a democratic song started by Mr. Fong, the singing director. Everybody seemed very pleased and welcomed Mr. Keh and Mr. Deng. But in a little while a mob of more than 200 attended our meeting. Conditions in the back of the hall suddenly became serious and then they started the attack. Within 20 minutes the furniture was damaged and some persons were seriously injured. Two speakers failed to speak.

Unfortunately Mr. Liang was wounded to the death. I declare that, standing for all young Chinese vocational men he laid down his life for the darkness of democracy. We should speedily investigate the matter of this bloody attack, which seems to have been well organized because the gendarmes and police were there for one hour during the disturbance, but, strange to say, stood by as spectators on the pavement. They let them fight. Oh, it is a shameful thing to see Shanghai, the great city of China, without law and order.

We should unite to resist those reactionaries who use force to break up our meetings. Would you rather die like Mr. Liang? It is high time we stopped the Hitlerites, on behalf of our freedom. We should not be afraid of attacks and assassinations for the sake of democracy. We must act and not merely talk and talk. Then China will be treading the path to real Democracy.

FREDERICK Y. WOOD.

Shanghai,
February 17, 1947.

Pressure & Resistance

To The Editor:

There can be no denying that letters appearing in the "Letters From The People" column in the *Review* are an

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actual reffection of war-smitten China. If any one wishes to know public opionion on current events in China, he may go anywhere *Review* in hand.

The authorities do their best to gag the press, but I doubt whether they can muffle the mouths of those who are crying out in untold pain. We may well believe the truth of the proverb: "The heavier the pressure, the greater the resistance."

With prices of goods—especially rice—soaring, one would ask regretfully how the people are getting along in this economic crisis. In Changshu alone, masses of people are in a dilemma, and were it not for the police and troops here, who maintain peace and order, they would run riot for no other purpose than to get rice to eat.

The people are what we call a pillar, which supports a nation. Without them we have no nation at all. Since this fact is all too simple, and the situation all too serious, how can our authorities face millions of hunger-ravaged people without lending them a hand.

Will the authorities solve this problem soon? The people may be silent for the nonce, but they will not be silent for ever. Let the authorities reform and the people will show respect again when they see the authorities have turned over a new leaf.

We only desire what is good for our country and nothing more. We know well that the Government has a glorious past, and let us cordially hope that with the new constitution coming into force some day, the Government will have a bright future.

AN OBSERVER.

Changshu, Kiangsu,
February 22, 1947.

Only One Dares!

To The Editor:

Yesterday we received an order from our superior to contribute three percent of this month's salary to the erection of a big building in commemoration of the birthday of Generalissimo Chiang. At first our superior persuaded us to contribute any amount spontaneously, but the total collected in this way failed to satisfy him. Our boss must think that we are unworthy of being treated as free citizens as compulsory measures have been taken, each of us being assigned a fixed amount to pay.

Generalissimo Chiang is our nation's great leader. Surely there is every reason to build a great building in commemoration of his birthday, but why by assessing three percent of the salaries of already underpaid public officials?

We cannot heap all the blame for the spreading civil war upon our national leader alone, but the worship our leader should have won has been greatly discounted in consequence of the fighting. We doubt that the building of Kai-San-Kwan ever will add one ounce of prestige to our national leader's name.

According to plans published in the local papers, the construction work may be finished this year or next, and this building will appear as one of the few buildings of which Taiwan may boast. I bet that when the day of its completion finally arrives a solemn ceremony will be held in which the big shots of the local government will take part. Eloquent speeches will be delivered, and cocktail parties or the like held amidst great excitement. Government-sponsored papers and radio stations will be busy quoting this as fresh evidence of the loyalty of Taiwanese to our national leader. That is all.

It is not certain whether our leader will be pleased in this way, but one thing is quite certain; that our great leader will never come to know that the funds for this building were extracted from the poor people who are used to being squeezed.

Only one of them dares grumble and release his discontent—in a letter to the editor of *The China Weekly Review*.

C. K. T.

Taipeh, Taiwan,
January 30, 1947.

464 Chengtu Road
Shanghai

Pills Or Surgery?

To The Editor:

As China's economic status is going from bad to worse, Mayor of Peiping S. Y. Ho issued a statement on how to save China from economic collapse for some representatives of the "golden circle." He said that American mediation is like a pill, whereas military action is like surgery. Now that Executive Headquarters has been withdrawn, the only alternative is to use surgery. In spite of the fact that China's exports have practically ceased the Chinese people will still live on tree-bark. If every Chinese has the spirit to live on tree-bark, China's economic collepse will certainly be averted.

I read this statement over and over again, and I am surely surprised by such great inventiveness. If Mayor Ho has two eyes and two ears, like any ordinary man, then I dare say his statement does great credit to his imagination. Since the flare-up of civil war following V-J day, a lot of people have been forced to live on tree-bark, and even on roots and earth, to avoid starvation, as many newspapers, magazines and photographs will testify.

I should like to ask Mayor Ho a question: If those people who were eating tree-bark could not prevent the last economic crisis, how can they hope to do so in the future? Also, why should they be willing to live on tree-bark and not protest, while their exploiters live in luxury? As well-educated a man as Mayor Ho must be qualified to answer these questions.

F. L.

Nanking, Kiangsu,
February 23, 1947.

Correction Corrected

To The Editor:

I would like to bring to your attention a letter in the *Review* of Feb. 1 under the caption "Corrections," written by Major General Hu Po-hsi, in which several corrections he made were not accurate.

(1) According to a letter sent from America by a friend who is an interpreter for Chinese air force cadets in America, our government has sent at least several hundred air cadets to America between V-J Day and February, 1946. I don't know if General Chou Chih-jo has said so or not, but this this is a fact.

(2) Major General Hu said that the American Government has never set up any paratrooper training schools in Kunming, Nanking, Canton and Hengyang, or an air force academy in Chengtu, and he announced that his headquarters has never commanded such schools. But, sorry to say, unless this general is fibbing, he cannot have been long in this duty, because at least part, if not all of the points in your editorial, are matters of fact.

I have personally seen a paratrooper training school set up by Americans at Hei Long Tan (Black Dragon Pool), 15 kilometers east of Kunming. This school was called the "Hung T'sang" Unit. They were trained to land every day near the

campus of Lienta, on the northern outskirts of Kunming. They were removed from there within about half a year of V-J Day.

As for the air force academy in Chengtu it is an irrefutable fact known to everybody here. It is situated at the air base, south of Chengtu. Many American teachers of this academy are still living in the grand hostel in Shangje Street. You can still see the jeeps of this academy, driven by the American officers, in the streets. Major General Hu tried to persuade us not to believe in these rumors, but how are we to explain all the iron facts mentioned above?

I have little sympathy with the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, but we cannot deny what is going on. Therefore, I deem what Major General Hu said in your *Review* to be entirely groundless, and I hope you in turn will publish this correction of a correction.

Yes, your "esteemed magazine has a history of about 30 years and is being read far and wide throughout the world," which fact we all know. In these troubled times, however, we are daily confronted with divers ways of rumor-making for purposes of propaganda. Famed as your magazine is, we hope you will exercise better judgment and a greater amount of discretion in the choice of material in the future and thus help tremendously in enhancing the power of the press.

VICTOR MA.

Chengtu, Szechuen,
February 8, 1947.

We're Mortified, Too

To The Editor:

I am sorry to say you insulted me greatly by throwing into my letter in the November 23rd *Review*, the phrase "as patriots and true followers of Dr. Sun, we....." Though I am unworthy, I wish myself and others to be followers of truth; and every man to be a lover of himself and of others. I think it is a mortification to be a follower of any images.

Too many foreigners seem to deem all people of China to be willing to be followers of Dr. Sun. But I think it is a matter of doubt whether the majority of sensible persons do not think it is an insult when others say they are followers of Dr. Sun.

The time has not yet come. Sensible persons today dare not and have not the means to express their thoughts. Dr. Sun is still the image of this regime; all good slogans are based on him and his doctrine. So the world thinks Dr. Sun was really a great man. But if his doctrine is to be analyzed for fundamental truth, all men will see that it is a great wrong.

In mathematics, point, line and quantity are used to solve problems. In politics, human desires, wishes, hopes and our true selves are used. They are the same in all men's hearts just as point, line and quantity are the same to all men's eyes.

In the world, especially in China, men incline to use emotion, illusion and cheating to solve problems. So the world goes from bad to worse. (Dr. Sun was a big thumb of this line. How I was insulted by the phrase "as true followers of Dr. Sun ....., which you carelessly threw in my leetter. I must ask you to correct this error.

MA LIEN-HO.

Sian Shensi,
February 21, 1947.

Compassion Only?

To The Editor:

It is my misfortune to have incurred the ire and hatred of a "student" who has the itch to "Tell" and to teach in

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the manner of the proverbial frog, which tried to puff itself up to vie in size with a grazing cow. Reading his letter, I cannot help noticing the parrot-like recitation of a certain type of propaganda trash which has been fed to a certain section of the students by opportunistic politicians posing as students.

If these dopey ones do not wake up to the realization that they have a duty to their country, and in a smaller sense to their parents, who pay for their education, in obtaining mental maturity through diligent studies and refraining from activities and problems that are beyond their mental capacity, they will certainly share the fate of the abovementioned frog, which burst itself wide open in the end.

I have nothing but compassion for them, but I was glad to observe that during the recent demonstration of the students, there were some who rebelled against its senselessness and refused to be agitated by calculating elements and to become their political pawns.

I have no intention of contesting the convictions of my bombastic "student" friend because I know it would only aggravate his self-imposed dignity, and I could never convince him when he has yet to learn to be convinced. Every fool is entitled to his own pet convictions, and it is a real fool who tries to burst another fool's paradise by imposing upon him unsolicited opinions.

If my student friend found my article repugnant the his intelligence, and felt it his duty to correct me, well, my motto in life has always been: Let happy dogs lie. But this much I am going to say to him: Emotionalism has its limitations. It will make a slave of him if he does not watch out. But I cannot overlook the fact that maybe that is the only mental faculty of which he is capable, and in the end it will land him in a lunatic asylum.

Patriotism is a good thing, but internationalism has superceded it since the bomb fell on Hiroshima. National boundary lines only exist on maps now. No national disturbance can be viewed as an isolated incident now, as it was 20 years ago. Whether we like it or not, if the civil war in China does not come to a conclusion one way or another, we will be inviting external intervention.

If my student friend would carefully read my article again with a broader outlook, he would not fail to detect the innuendoes I have intended there. Finally, I advise him to read more widely of unbiased literature, and avoid shouting names at people when the real fault lies in his own color-blind vision.

LAM ON-PONG.

Shanghai,
February 22, 1947.

Students' Strike

To The Editor:

We, the undersigned, students of the National Hupeh Teacher's College, herewith wish to present to you our declaration of a classroom strike petitioning for the transfer of our College to Wuhan. We shall be most grateful to you, if you will publish the same in your *Review* as soon as possible. The text reads as follows:

"Move the campus!" is now the unanimous demand of the college as a whole. In order to achieve our goal we have begun a strike.

It is in a heavy, broken-hearted mood that we strike. One month ago our President left for Nanking to submit to the Ministry of Education our proposal to move the campus, and afterwards, because the President was unexpectedly delayed in Wuhan owing to illness, we, the student body, telegraphed repeatedly the same proposal to the Ministry of Education but never a single word in reply in all this long time. Under such circumstances we cannot but strike to manifest our full determination.

The motive of our demand is purely right, and our strike is not out of intolerance. This motive and this demand we hope all the community will be able to understand throughly, and that be shall be given rightful and forceful support.

According to the principles of the distribution of "teachers' colleges" of the Ministry of Education, our college belongs to the Central China region, and of course there falls on our shoulders a great and heavy responsibility for the future development of secondary education in these central provinces. In this

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sense our college should not be eternally encamped in deserted Kingsha, but in the heart of Central China—Wuhan!

At the 604th Session of the Executive Yuan in 1943 it was decided that the permanent site of our College should be Wuchang. But at the time of the educational restoration we were suddenly ordered to move to Kiangling. Why on earth the change of the 1943 resolution of the Executive Yuan? Let us make bold to point out, sadly, that it was because of the suggestion of a certain prominent educator born in Kiangling. What a pity that the suggestion of that "prominent" one should originate entirely from a narrow sectionalism. And after our arrival here, we have a still better understanding of that wholly shameful, selfish, partial idea.

First of all, the problem of school buildings has not yet been solved reasonably though we moved here to Kingsha last July. In the beginning, we were compelled to dwell like beggars in broken-down temples (in such temples the freshmen are still living, and whenever the weather is stormy or sleety there is very little distinction between inside and out). Not until late in October did we get a lot of schoolrooms in the beautiful-sounding Tung Chia Hwa Yuan in Shasi, but the number is still so far from the requirements that even some of the original toilets have been turned into classrooms, school dispensary, and lodgings for professors, while the students of the upper classes have to huddle together in another private house. Leading such a life how can we remain peaceful and silent?

Secondly, we have always felt the lack of a solid faculty of professors. Owing to the high cost of living and the position of Shasi, one after another the old professors have gone away, while the newly appointed ones hesitated to turn up in time, thus causing many of the classes to fall into the condition of having no lectures to attend. To this we must add the lack of reference books and scientific instruments. When we were in Enshih, there were the Provincial Library and Laboratory available; but here you cannot even find a bookstore on a large scale, to say nothing of public cultural institutions. In short, here you cannot see any prominent magazine or valuable books other than a few "yellow" or sword-and-knight stories.

If there is any good in Kingsha perhaps it is solely that living costs are quite a bit lower than in Wuhan. But is there any sense in this except constraining us to keep our bellies more tightly-laced? Since there is nothing desirable either spiritually or materially, has this college been placed here to make splendid so-called "face?" Do we wish to suffer our more than 800 young lives to be wasted in such a way?

No! We are all hot-blooded and just-minded youths. We have a good knowledge of the responsibility that shortly will come to us. We do not wish to allow our golden lives to be thus wasted. Nor do we wish to be "evil-to-mankind" middle school teachers who will manage to "murder" the coming generation. Please save those children, sir, and save us who are likely to "murder" them in the future, but are now carrying on a desperate struggle to avoid doing so. What a heart piercing thing, in fact, how many "twenties" are there in the lifetime of a man?

No, we do not in the least wish to do so, and that is why we are trying so hard to gain permission from the Ministry of Education to shift the Campus. We petition to move to a better place where we may succeed in getting the so-long-desired able professors, necessary books and sufficient instruments. We have all the pressing desire in the world for knowledge. We must strive to get ourselves well-equipped. We must endeavor to become real-souled teachers. We cannot be pulled along thus between living and dying any longer. We are not such nihilists as desire nothing more than a diploma and an academic degree.

Dear sir, is our demand unrightful and unreasonable? Is our action impure and dishonorable? Do you wish us, over 800 young people, all to be nihilists, those criminals, who will "murder" the still younger generation? No, by no means do we think so, sir!

As the old Chinese saying goes, "the mind never dies before reaching the Hwangho." We will never put our movement to an end before reaching our object. With a deep and strong faith, we beseech you of all classes to stretch out your just and friendly hand and to give us the warmest assistance and most effective support.

THE STUDENTS' SELF-GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION OF THE NATIONAL HUPEH TEACHERS' COLLEGE.

Shasi, Hupeh,
February 10, 1947.

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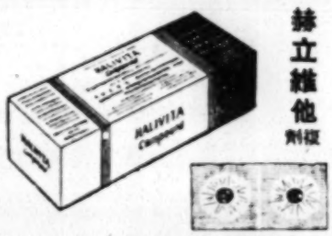

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To Wuhan U. Students

To The Editor:

The following is an open letter to the students of National Wuhan University which I delivered on the occasion of their "strike" last month.

The present unhappy state of affairs in this great university impels me to set forth my views on the existing conditions.

Many of you will not agree with my opinions.

Some of you will resent the fact that a foreigner dares to "meddle" in what you regard as your own private concerns. To these I can only plead that, since my assignment to the university as adviser on student health, I have conceived a strong affection for it as an institution, and an admiration that increases daily for the devoted group of teachers that comprises its faculty.

I am confident, however, that at least some few of you—those who are not swayed by prejudice and not easily led astray by "mob psychology;" those who are willing and able to *think things through*—will admit that there is justice and reason in the words that follow.

It is to these "straight thinkers" that I appeal to help by their example and their persuasion to lead the less thoughtful and less experienced students to a mature and reasoned point of view and to the action that will necessarily follow such a conviction.

Let us take a good look at the situation.

Two thousand students, in round numbers, are showing their disapproval of the conduct of the university affairs by absenting themselves from their classes and idling away valuable hours that should be devoted to preparing themselves for their careers in life. As class work occupies about six hours a day, this represents a daily loss of some 12,000 man-hours—wasted hours that can never be regained, for Time moves inexorably forward. And who is suffering the loss? The students themselves, if they but had the wit to realize it!

Nearly 100 members of the faculty are thereby prevented from performing their functions as teachers—a task to which they have given many years of preparation.

Anyone with a love of statistics could easily figure in dollars what this wastage costs; but it would take more than cold statistics to represent the spiritual loss that it entails. This cannot be weighed and measured, but it can be felt keenly by anyone who stops to think.

Now who are these students thus wasting their heritage who have assumed the

right to voice their disapproval and displeasure by disorganizing and paralyzing a great educational institution?

They are the privileged few among China's toiling millions who are given the priceless opportunity to enter the House of Knowledge, to acquire the tools and mental equipment that will bring them to the rank of leadership in the China of the future. They are those to whom China will look for guidance and direction in the years to come. On them rests the obligation to plow and harrow and plant their minds that they may bring forth a harvest that will be of enduring service to their nation.

They have no right to waste these golden hours! The opportunities that they enjoy are made possible by the sweat and tears and grinding toil of the millions of "the Little People"—the millions of farmers and patient, burden-bearing coolies, the shopkeepers, the workers in the factory and mill and mine. For these people are, in the last analysis, the source of the wealth that makes National Wuhan University a reality. To waste these hours is to be a traitor to the humble people who have given them to you; it is to be recreant to the trust that the government reposes in you.

And what is this faculty that you so thoughtlessly flout? It is a group of earnest men of mature minds who, after years of preparation, have dedicated their lives to the teaching of youth. Their salaries are meager—so meager that they offer no opportunity to save any money as a bulwark against insecurity in their old age. They can afford no luxuries and they enjoy small comfort. Their reward is the consciousness of having a part in the forming of the men and women of tomorrow. And you are disappointing them sadly!

And who is your President, whose resignation you have the effrontery to demand? He is one of the great men of China today, whose fame reaches far beyond the confines of this land, a man of international reputation, of profound scholarship, of seasoned wisdom and of great patience. His days are toilsome and his nights are often made sleepless by the perplexities and worries that his heavy burden of responsibility entails. He is one of the more influential authors of your country's new constitution—a man whose knowledge and judgment are highly valued in very high places. One should think twice before adding to his load of care.

Unless you saw this university last Spring, when the Japanese invaders were not yet all evacuated—unless you saw, as I did, its utter dilapidation and disorder—you can have no conception of the tremendous task that has been performed by the administrative personnel and faculty in bringing it to its present state. Much remains to be done; much is imperfect; much is yet to be desired. The men who have wrought the miracle of reopening the university—by what toil and effort you have no conception—deserve your confidence and loyal cooperation in their heavy task. To fail to given them that is to be unworthy of the privileges that you enjoy and to be false to the hope that your country founds in you.

Stop and think, Students of National Wuhan University!

ALVAH STRONG MILLER, M.D.
Hankow, Hupeh,
February 12, 1947.

Name & Address, Please!

The China Weekly Review will not publish anonymous letters: all communications intended for publication must bear the name and address of the sender, which at all times will be treated as confidential.

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THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW
密勒氏評論報
A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

The editorial pages present each week the opinions of the editor. The other pages of The China Weekly Review are written by the other members of the staff and the contributing editors who report and interpret the news irrespective of the views expressed in the editorials.

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Chinese Abroad

THE position of Chinese residing abroad has in recent weeks received considerable publicity and, in China, has been attacked as evidence of foreign discrimination. If restrictive actions against Chinese immigrants or aliens had been enforced only by one foreign power, this might be the case. However, the fact that the same or similar situations exist in virtually all countries in the Far East, as well as in the United States and other western nations, indicates that the problem may be more complicated.

Last month the Philippines suspended Chinese immigration until such time as a treaty of general relations between the two countries is signed. In addition, President Roxas ordered a shakeup in the Immigration Commission and ordered it to give him a detailed report of illegal Chinese immigration.

In Japan Chinese officials have been involved in a running battle with occupation authorities and the Japanese Government ever since V-J Day over the question of Chinese—most of whom are Formosans—living in Japan.

In Indonesia and Indo-China there has been a continuous three-cornered battle since the Japanese surrender involving the colonial powers, the natives and the Chinese residents. In Siam and in Malaya there has been evidence of friction running all the way from outright riots to various milder difficulties such as boycotts, etc.

More recently Chinese entering the United States, either as visitors or immigrants, have run into difficulties. Just last month the U.S. Immigration Commissioner in San Francisco kept 400 newly-arrived Chinese under detention for a few days. This move was protested by the Chinese consul, who seemed to be especially exercised over the detention of two girls, one a daughter of Dr. Lin Yu-tang and the other a daughter of Dr. Frank W. Lee, Chinese UN delegation adviser.

This case was aired in public apparently only because the Chinese consul intervened on behalf of the two "distinguished" arrivals, whom the American immigration commissioner proposed to subject to the same investigation the "common folk" had to undergo. The commissioner was quoted in the press as a saying, with some heat, "The Chinese immigration quota has been exhausted for years to come. If we permit people to come in here under visitors' visas we might as well discontinue the laws."

It is, of course, common knowledge that influential Chinese have been abusing visitors' and businessmen's visas for years by the simple expedient of getting them renewed whenever they expire and thus remaining in America for years on end. In addition, large numbers of Chinese obtain obscure "courtesy" appointments as advisors and what not to Chinese diplomatic and trade missions so that they do not come under the quota. Today there are approximately 100,000 Chinese in America, about half of whom possess American citizenship, while the rest have been admitted on visitors', business or students' visas.

While we personally are all for sending even more Chinese, especially students, to America, it seems that it is now time for the Chinese Government to investigate the issuing of visas and clean up that section of the Foreign Office so that the Chinese going to America will derive some benefit which they can later use to help China. Entirely too many of those Chinese now leaving for the United States—and other countries, too—are merely running away from China because they do not like to put up with the current difficulties.

Of the approximately 50,000 alien Chinese now living in America, how many are engaged in productive labor? How many are genuine students seeking to improve themselves so that they can return and aid in China's modernization? Also, how many of them are living upon official exchange granted by the Chinese Government? These, we feel, are pertinent questions which should be answered by the Government.

Personally we are in favor of increasing the number of visas issued to Chinese who wish to go abroad, to the United States or to any other country, for purposes of study. We feel that several times 50,000 Chinese should be sent to America. And students should be given preference and in respect to official exchange, even preferential treatment—not, as was the case last week, have the issuance of visas suspended more or less indefinitely. However, relatives of big shots who merely wish to go abroad for a "good time" or to escape the political and economic "difficulties" prevalent in China should not be given permission.

An intelligent, planned policy of issuing immigration permits and passports for foreign travel can enable China to profit from contacts her nationals may make abroad. However, the present policy of indiscriminate issuance of "travel" and "student" visas by foreign consulates and the closing of official Chinese eyes to illegal immigration, either through outright smuggling of Chinese into other countries in Asia or through abuse of visas by "travelers" in more distant lands, can only cause friction between China and her neighbors.

To The Nearest Male?

CHINA'S population, according to latest Ministry of Information statistics, is 455,900,648, of whom 230,995,499 are males, to the nearest male, presumably.

We have a number of Chinese males in our editorial rooms, and we wonder if they have been included in the count.

UNRRA's Failure

THE current charges and denials regarding CNRRA's alleged request to be allowed to sell US$200,000,000 worth of UNRRA supplies upon the black market as an economic stabilization measure, point up the fact that on the whole the UNRRA program for China has been pretty much of a failure.

There is no denying that UNRRA and CNRRA have accomplished a large number of worthwhile projects, many of them under the most adverse conditions imaginable. There is also no denying that both organizations have met with many specific failures, some of which were the direct fault of one organization or the other and some of which failed because of circumstances beyond either's control.

The greatest failure, it seems to us, is the failure of the original planners of the China UNRRA program to lay down a program which would have had a chance of success in China. It has now become all too evident that the China program would have worked better in almost any other country because the special conditions existing in China were not sufficiently understood. In addition, the framers of the China plan were under heavy pressure from both American and Chinese groups, private and official, who desired to attain their own particular ends through UNRRA, regardless of whether or not such objectives were suited for China or for a relief program.

Many of the social welfare projects attempted by UNRRA were absolutely ridiculous in view of the fact that China, a nation just struggling to emerge from feudalism, needed aid of another kind. Kindergartens and other such ideas of social work which are fine for Hull House or other settlement institutions abroad are largely wasted in China, where the essential thing is to feed the children and adults and attempt to give them the tools to make their own living in the future. Modern ideas of

infant feeding sometimes were hardly worth the effort in China, particularly when special foods and a staff of experts carrying modern equipment had to be transported far into the hinterland.

Although most of these ideas were essentially sound and many of them resulted in real good, many more lives could have been saved just as well by methods commonly practised in China. Sometimes the administrative expenses of these modern foreign ideas are almost as great as the expenditure for food.

One of the most heart-breaking UNRRA failures involved the disposal of surplus property. One of the essential facts which should be understood about the dumping of surplus American goods in China is the reason for the apparent contradiction as to its real value. From the American point of view, the sale must realize a sum sufficient to satisfy the American taxpayer that he is not being cheated. Thus, for American consumption the materials involved must be described as miscellaneous, second-hand, useless junk which was a total loss until UNRRA bought it. For Chinese consumption, however, the material must be described as slightly used, valuable equipment which China obtained for a "song." Only when this ticklish situation is realized can one fully appreciate the many, many conflicting reports regarding the value of surplus property.

Another point which should be realized is that much of the material brought to China from the Pacific islands is absolutely useless here. Naturally it could not be sorted, either on the islands or in China, except at terrific administrative expense—an expense which might be even greater than the purchase price. Thus giant bulldozers, tractors and all types of construction machinery requiring highly skilled American technical operators were dumped into China's lap.

A good illustration of the uselessness of some of this machinery was given us recently by an American friend in CNRRA. He said that once while he was inspecting one of the UNRRA-CNRRA machinery depots which consisted of huge piles of rusting, rotting equipment, a Chinese friend pointed to a monstrous machine with "wheels as big as a room" and asked him what it was. Our American friend had to admit that he had never seen such a machine before and didn't know what it was. How can anyone in China, said our friend, be expected to put such a thing to good use?

On the other side of the picture, though, is the seemingly all too frequent Chinese practice of excusing nonuse of all machinery by saying it is too complicated for China and failing even to attempt to find out how it might be used advantageously.

It is, however, a bit too late to begin crying over how the program might have been carried out, especially since UNRRA is scheduled to close shortly. But, the lesson of failure—a very expensive lesson, too—should serve for the future, both for any similar future undertakings in China or for any similar future United Nations projects.

Our Medical Department

(Social Diseases Section)

UP to the present, Taiwan remains a relatively clean piece of territory. We should prize and take good care of the innocence and purity of the Taiwanese, and must not allow them to be infected with our backwardness and corruption.—*Ta Kung Pao, Feb.* 12, 1947.

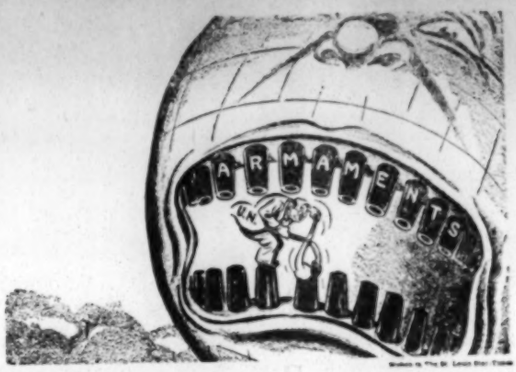
Has any one tried thought control?

Warlordism In India

THERE is no doubt now that the Attlee statement on India fell like a bombshell. Whereas it was formerly the Indians who adopted the "Quit India" resolution, it now appears that Attlee has turned the tables by himself supporting a "Quit India" policy, only in a more definitive form—by announcing June 1, 1948 as the deadline for the British withdrawal as the controlling power.

The first impulse of most friends of India, among whom the editors of this journal rank themselves, was to hail the statement as a gesture of British Labor's magnanimity. And it is a magnanimous step—but with reservations attached. And, as so often happens, the reservations become more important than the plan itself. For while Britain is prepared, one can now say is committed, to withdraw from India in a little more than a year, the fact is that she will do so no matter what the circumstances prevailing in that country are at the time. In other words, come civil war, come chaos, come anarchy, Britain is going to pull out of India—and the devil take the hindmost. That, in a nutshell, is Attlee's attitude.

"BEGINNING TO LOOSEN UP?"



We have always maintained that the real problem in India is whether Pakistan will come about, or whether the unitary forces in India will triumph over separatist and secessionist movements. The Attlee statement does not take this problem into consideration, leaving it dangling in midair. What, then, are the possibilities after the British withdrawal, if the Congress Party and the Muslim League have not patched up their quarrel by then?

Observers have been quick to point out that the Attlee statement is a challenge not only to the Congress Party, but in like measure to the Muslim Leaguers. Agreed. But it is more than just that. It is also an opportunity for the princely states. Hardly anyone has taken the native rulers into consideration. Yet, to our way of thinking, they may become the determining factors after June, 1948, if there is no unitary government to take over power from the British.

If the outcome of the British withdrawal is the commencement of civil war in India, it is obvious that there will be two governments, each claiming a large part of India—a Congress government and a Muslim League government. When these two clash (and no one believes that Congress will tamely allow the Muslims to divide the country) what will India's native rulers do?

They will do exactly what they have been doing for centuries past. In the conflict between two major groups, they will play off one side against the other, the while building up their armies and over-running contested areas, these to be incorporated into their own domains. They will, as they did centuries ago, make pacts with foreign powers, whereby their supply of arms and military "advisers" can be assured. And they will farm out taxes to all comers, in order to fill their own treasuries and the pockets of faithful supporters.

That this is no idle fancy can be realized when we consider the rise of warlordism in China following the collapse of the Empire. Warlordism in China did not come about because there were no governments claiming nation-wide sovereignty. Warlordism began here because there were two or more governments claiming to represent the entire nation. In the bickerings between Canton and Peking, and Hankow and Nanking, during the early years of the Republic, individuals who possessed their own armies seized power for themselves, and in their own name.

The same thing not only may happen in India, but will happen if Britain does not take steps to avert this anarchy. And she can only do this by forthwith dissolving the princely armies and by preventing the rulers from dictating the policies of their states. For so long as Indian rulers continue to wield dictatorial powers in their own states, the temptation offered by civil war, or the creation of two separate governments in India, will prove too great to resist.

The collapse of the central Indian government's authority will be the signal for a land-grabbing rush which will eclipse all others in modern history. Each ruler will bring out ancient maps and stake claims which, if later

recognized, or realized through force of arms, would take India back to the early fifteen-hundreds, divided, despotically ruled and bowed under the yoke of superstition and medievalism.

It is Britain which, over the past 200 years and more, maintained the Indian rulers in power. Britain assumed full responsibility for the welfare of the Indian people over that period. She cannot deny her responsibility now in regard to the danger which, nurtured with fat taxes and omnipotent titles during the past centuries by Britain, she will now let loose on India.

The importance of the Attlee statement lies not so much in what the British Premier said, but in what he left unsaid; not so much what he promised, but what he failed to promise.

It would indeed be a travesty of justice if, after more than two centuries of rule, the only thing the British could say would be: "We are leaving your country as we found it. We have guided you in the past. Now it is up to you to solve the problems which existed centuries ago." That would amount to "hedging" on a scale never before, in all the annals of history, indulged in by any nation.

Thought For This Week

To realize democratic constitutionalism successfully in China, a sound civil service system will have to be established. The instability and inefficiency of the current administration of this country are considerably due to the absence of such a system.—*Cheng I-jui, in the Central Daily News.*

Also, of course, to realize a sound civil service successfully, democratic constitutionalism will have to be established.

The American "Haw-Haws"

ONE of the more mystifying aspects of the post-war trials going on throughout the world is the seeming reluctance of the United States Government to prosecute American nationals who worked for the enemy during the war.

America's handling of the cases of the several U.S. citizens who broadcasted for the Germans, Italians and Japanese is especially strange when compared with British and French reaction. Lord Haw-Haw (William Joyce) and John Amery, two Britons who worked for the Germans, and Paul Ferdonnet, a Frenchman, were promptly executed by their respective governments after being tried and found guilty.

Meanwhile, the American authorities have followed a stumbling, contradictory policy as regards such people as Robert Best, Douglas Chandler, Donald Day and Mildred Gillers (Axis Sally), who worked for the Germans, and broadcasters such as Don Chisholm, who worked for the Japs here in Shanghai.

Best and Chandler are being tried, or are about to be tried in New England, long after the end of the war, while Day, at last report, had been turned loose by the American Department of Justice. Axis Sally was arrested, released and then arrested again. Chisholm, publisher of a scandal sheet here before the war, was taken into custody by American Army authorities in Shanghai shortly after the Japanese surrender, but released a year later—without any public charges ever being leveled against him—following a habeas corpus action filed by his mother against Secretary of War Patterson.

Part of this apparent indecision on the part of the American authorities may be due to lack of experience in dealing with cases of treason. There was not a single trial for treason in America during World War I, and, for that matter, very few in America since the Revolutionary War, excepting of course cases of desertion any spying during the Civil War, which came under an entirely different category.

As pointed out by William L. Shirer recently, this indecision may result from lack of legal knowledge or experience. Shirer says that in England conviction of treason automatically carries the death penalty, but that in America there seems to be some confusion. Shirer does not believe that it does in America, where he says, the sentence may run from a minimum of five years and US$10,000 fine to a maximum of death. He quotes two acts of Congress, one in 1790 and the other in 1862—during the Civil War. However, the Associated Press seems to be of a different opinion, reporting that the only penalty is death.

Part of this difference of press opinion—which is the best there is in the absence of well-known legal cases—stems from the extreme simplicity of the definition of treason as contained in the U.S. Constitution. It is: "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." Another angle to treason cases is that the Constitution provides that "no person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court."

The cautious and simple wording defining treason, says Shirer, is because the American founding fathers were chiefly concerned to avoid the abuses which had grown up in treason trials in the course of English history.

While we, too, think that the government should proceed cautiously in prosecuting those Americans accused or suspected of "giving and comfort" to our enemies, we also think that there should be some public statement explaining to the public why charges were either contemplated or placed against several American broadcasters for the Axis and then later dropped without explanation.

If there is any evidence that they should be prosecuted, they most certainly should be tried. It seems especially unfair to those American citizens who suffered because they failed to "make their peace" with the enemy because of their convictions, as well as to the soldiers who fought the war. If, however, there are extenuating circumstances in the cases mentioned above, they too should be made public, if for nothing more than to clear their names publicly.

Attention, Feature Services

A primary school teacher, telling of the harm of Chinese comic strip books, said: "The pupils won't believe that lightning is an electrical phenomenon, but prefer to think that Leikung (God of Thunder) throws bolts out to kill monsters. The boys don't buy textbooks and they neglect their lessons because they spend their money and time in reading comic strips."

More Inefficiency?

WHILE it is understood that an overall investigation of CNRRA Water Transport is in progress, and while CWT is at present in the midst of drastic economy cuts, we have heard of another alleged example of bureaucratic inefficiency which—as so often happens—may make a mockery of both investigation and economy.

According to our information, the new messing contract for the RB-2 and RB-3 and the RS-Mac, three CWT repair ships stationed in the river here, which was signed in the middle of last month was not only not done through proper channels, but involves an increase of approximately 130 percent in feeding costs. While prices have certainly increased, it is doubtful if such a jump is warranted, especially since the quantity and the quality of food have been drastically reduced since the new contract was signed.

During January the cost of feeding each man, both Chinese and foreign, per day was CNC$6,000. Under the new contract, the agreed cost per man per day will be CNC$13,000. While it is recognized that the feeding of the foreign personnel brings the average cost per man up somewhat, this figure is particularly interesting when compared with the China Merchants' present figure of CNC$2,250 per Chinese seaman per day.

The comparison becomes even sharper when it is realized that at the time when CWT was figuring CNC$6,000 per man per day, the actual cost of food for Chinese employees was about CNC$3,000, or half the average cost for the entire staff. If the same percentage holds true for this month, one could conclude that while

China Merchants is now feeding its Chinese employees on less than CNC$3,000 per day, CWT will spend CNC$6,500 per day.

If the food were twice as good, no one could complain, but the fact is that the food has been worsening during the past month because of repeated CNRRA orders for economy. Foods such as butter, cheese, ham, pork, and all types of canned vegetables, fruit and meat, which were served in the past, now cannot be used.

While it is impossible to ascertain just how bureaucracy could be so inefficient and so confused without a detailed investigation, we think that UNRRA should at least look into the matter. If for no other reason than to prove that it is a case of bureaucratic confusion, rather than "squeeze." This is especially true since we have been told that there were some irrregularaties in the new messing contract signed between CWT Managing Director P. A. Cavanaugh and the Wei Teh Company, who apparently are the new caterers.

It probably was only a desire upon the part of CWT's high officials to sign a new contract before prices rose further, but, we understand, neither the port steward nor the procurement officer was consulted on this contract and, in fact, did not know of it until it had been signed. Further, there is some doubt among some CWT employees as to whether or not the normally required three bids were called for and submitted to the official auditors for inspection and approval.

It is such occurrences which bring government organizations into disrepute with the public and lead to harmful rumors about the integrity of the government.

High Hurdle Department

Our energy should be used to cut down our expenditure and to boost our income, without affecting the national economy and the people's livelihood.—*Sin Wan Pao*, February 26, 1947.

It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven.—Ancient Parable.

Changed Make-Up

IN recent weeks the *Review's* editors have been making a few gradual changes in the paper's make-up, which, it is hoped, will enable us to provide our readers with more full-length articles and other features which they have indicated as being more interesting to them.

It has always been our policy to maintain as close contact with our readers as possible and, as far as is practicable, to accede to their wishes. With this view in mind, the *Review*, through the years, has several times added or dropped features in accordance with readers' requests.

We have been able to maintain close touch with our readers mainly through their letters to the editor. Since resuming publication after the Japanese surrender we have each week received several times as many letters as we have had room to print. Accordingly, we have repeatedly increased the space devoted to their publication, only to find that the number received increased proportionately. Due to the present paper and printing problems we have about reached our limit on space for letters. However, it is hoped that when conditions become more normalized we can devote a few more pages to their publication.

Some time ago we mailed questionnaires to many of our subscribers, asking them for their opinions regarding the *Review*. In accordance with their answers we began making minor changes a few weeks ago. We completed most of the changes in last week's issue—somewhat sooner than we had planned—because of the new government order limiting the amount of newsprint imported.

We actually were on the point of again increasing the size of the *Review* when this order was announced. Therefore, we made a small number of necessary changes as quickly as possible, dropping some of our features which our readers had mentioned as being of less interest. By this method we have been able to give our readers the same number of pages devoted to Letters from the People and to editorials, as well as to increase the space occupied by full-length articles.

We hope that the changes effected will meet with our readers' approval. We undoubtedly will be making more minor alterations in the future, especially after newsprint becomes more plentiful and we therefore have more latitude. Meanwhile, we hope our readers will continue to keep us posted as to their opinions and suggestions.

Whodunit?

The *Sin Wan Pao* says that it is specious and suicidal for the Chinese people to blame solely the civil strife for the present economic crisis.

25 Years Ago In Millard's Review Of The Far East

Hongkong Servantless

March 4, 1922.

The cry of the "down-trodden" working man, which has echoed and re-echoed through the lands of the West for a number of years, is finally having its day in China. Hongkong has been for some weeks the scene of a strike of Chinese seamen and stevedores. Although tons upon tons of coastwise, river and ocean freight and passenger vessels have been detained for about a month in the harbor because of the departure of their crews, the ultimate end of the strike, with Filipino and Northern Chinese seamen replacing the Cantonese strikers, was supposed to be in sight. Now comes the news that the house-boys, cooks and coolies of the Colony have joined the movement and Hongkong is servantless—an almost unparalleled experience in these Eastern waters.

* * *

Warlords At Odds

Tsao Kun, military governor of Chihli and head of the faction which bears the name of that province, is said to be busy attempting to conciliate the views of Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin. A few reports indicate that there will be fighting between the two factions with military preparations now under way and other reports are to the effect that all is well and that negotiations are progressing successfully....In order to consolidate his position, Chang Tso-lin is endeavoring to have General Chang Hsun, the monarchist, reappointed as Inspector General of the Yangtze, and has asked that his own troops be stationed along the Tientsin-Pukow Railway from Yangliuching to Pukow to provide against any menace from the South.

10 Years Ago in The China Weekly Review

Central Reserve Bank

February 27, 1937.

Central News says the proposed Central Reserve Bank will be organized in the form of a joint stock company of limited liability. Its capital will amount to CNC$100,000,000, which will be divided into 1,000,000 shares of CNC$100 each. The amount, however, is subject to increase upon approval of the National Government.....Commented Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, chief economic adviser to the British Government:—"I am very glad to hear that plans are afoot to transform the Central Bank of China into a Central Reserve Bank with control over the issue of notes and currency and over Government funds."

* * *

Finance Minister

According to financial circles quoted by the *Shanghai Mainichi* February 23, Dr. H. H. Kung still insists on his resignation from the post of Finance Minister. His determination to relinquish the post is said to be determined by the fact that China's finances have arrived in a blind alley, plus opposition from local financiers. It is predicted that Dr. Kung will be succeeded by K. P. Chen, general manager of the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank, although Hsu Kan, Vice-Minister of Finance, is being mentioned for the post.

Comment On New Constitution, Historical Background Given

By TSENG YU-HAO, Ph. D.

THE third reading of China's new Constitutional Draft was passed by the National Assembly on December 25, 1946, Christmas Day—the 10th anniversary of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's release in the Sian coup d'etat. The Constitution became the supreme law on January 1, 1947, and shall be put in force on December 25, 1947.

Mr. Wu Chih-hui, the Kuomintang's elder statesman, hailed this new organic law as the fruit of the party's 50 years' revolutionary struggles.

Dr. Wang Chung-hui, an eminent private lawyer who is famed primarily for his English translation of the German Civil Code, offered additional aplogia for the Constitution. According to the official Central News, Dr. Wang called it a democratic constitution. This Yale Doctor of Civil Law pointed out that the instrument provides among other things for a bill of rights, equality of races and mankind, a representative and five-power government, and division of powers between national and provincial regimes.

Foreign Reaction

Favorable opinions also came from alien supporters of China's existing rulers. Dr. J. Leighton Stuart thinks the new Constitution is a good omen, representing the spirit of compromise of the Political Consultative Council. One New York paper is reported to have eulogized it as assimilating the English Cabinet and American Presidential systems.

On the other hand, the Chinese Communists and others critical of their own government generally denounced the Constitution as another attempt of the Kuomintang to perpetuate its dictatorship under cover of democracy. It has been termed another copy of the "Pig Constitution" of 1923, when General Tsao Kun paid each member of Parliament 5,000 silver dollars for a vote to betray the people.

Several correspondents of leading English journals in Hongkong and Shanghai pointed out that the National Assemblymen were picked when Fascism was very strong and when pro-Anglo-American liberals were most severely persecuted and down-trodden in China. According to these critics, after the formers of this Constitution have glorified Hitlerite Germany and Himmler's brutalities against the laws of God and man, it is indeed a grave insult to the American people that this Constitution should say, in Abraham Lincoln's words, that China is a republic of the people, by the people and for the people.

To an objective student of China's constitutional history, this document is another publication of a synopsis of political theories, crystallized into 175 articles, to suit the purpose of the ruling class for the maintenance of the status quo, if not for the destruction of its opposition.

Since 1909, China has promulgated so many constitutions and incorporated so many political systems that all constitutional laws since the Magna Carta of the 13th century have been tried and forsaken. The constitutional principles of 1909 were copied from Japan and Germany, a monarchy under an inviolable, inalienable and omnipotent emperor. The Manchus' last charter, the Nineteen Articles of 1911, were taken from the British Parliamentary form of government.

Dr. Sun's Draft

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Instrument of Government of the Chinese Republic published in the year of the Revolution was modeled after the United States Constitution. The French formula of the premier's responsibility to the legislature can be found in the Provisional Constitution of 1912.

The Constitutional Compact, known as the Goodnow Constitution, 1915, reintroduced the presidential system to enable Yuan Shih-kai to return to personal dictatorship and eventually to crown himself as the Son of Heaven. In the Constitution of 1923 cabinet responsibility was emphasized, the French manner reiterated.

The Kuomintang Central Executive Committee method was distinctly Bolshevik in character and appearance. From 1934 onwards, the rule of law in China, if it can be so-called, has been influenced greatly by Nazism and Fascism, with the absolutism of Der Fuehrer and Il Duce and with the philosophy of the elite, supported by secret services, control of thought measures and concentration camps for disciplinarian purposes.

Immutable Law

A public lawyer some 20 years ago said that the only workable constitution in China has been the Confucian Analects together with the Five Classics. Confucianism insisted that the Son of Heaven ruled under a heavenly mandate. Aiding in his holy mission were the ministers, generals, scholars and public officers who obeyed the "Kingly Way." They were the "Herrenvolk," the elite.

Thus China's government has been from time immemorial Fascist in nature. The Chinese have become so accustomed to Mussolini's corporate state that whoever started his career as a democrat or republican has to turn out a God-sent dictator in order to prolong his political power.

Only with such historical background can one judge dispassionately arguments, pro or con, concerning the present Constitution.

The preamble of China's new Constitution declares that the National Assembly, entrusted by the whole people, adopts the present organic law under the guidance of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's will and for the protection of the people's rights, insuring social security, consolidating the state's sovereignty and developing the citizens' welfare.

3 Principles Upheld

Chapter I provides that the Republic of China is a Republic of the Three People's Principles, a Republic of the people, by the people and for the people. The sovereignty of the Republic rests with the people.

A bill of rights and the principle of habeas corpus are set forth in chapter II. Freedom of the press, of thought, of association, of religious conviction are guaranteed. If wrongly prosecuted, an innocent party may even claim indemnity from the authorities.

Such liberties were inserted in most of China's previously gazetted organic laws. The first six amendments to the United States Constitution contain similar stipulations, characterizing the spirit of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence and public law. Freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly and of street processions and demonstrations, are also provided in Article 125 of the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

National Assembly

Articles 25-34 of China' new Constitution stipulate that National Assemblymen are to be elected from hsiens (districts), the Mongolians, (league), Tibetan tribes, Overseas Chinese and Women's Associations. The National Assembly shall elect the President and Vice-President of the Republic and exercise the powers of initiative and referendum over the Legislative Yuan. Assemblymen shall not be held responsible for acts inside the Assembly when they come out. Unless for flagrante delecto, they shall not be arrested and detained.

China's ruling class is fond of anything American today, as it was fond of anything Russian in 1926 and of anything German in 1936. Nevertheless, the institution of a National Assembly above the executive, legislative and judicial departments, a National Assembly of more than 1,000 members, resembles in its functioning the Supreme Soviet of the USSR which is "the highest organ of state authority of the USSR." Even "the Supreme Soviet of the USSR consists of two chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities." China's National Assembly totally ignores the separation of geographical and population representatives in the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

Chief Executive

The President of the Republic is the chief of state, representing the Republic of China. He is the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Navy and Air forces. He promulgates the law, countersigned by the President of the Executive Yuan. He declares war and concludes peace according to resolutions of the Legislative Yuan, duly countersigned by the premier.

The President of the Republic grants pardons and declares a state of emergency. He appoints and removes, according to the law, officials and members of governmental services. He shall be a mature person, above 40 years of age. His tenure expires after the sixth anniversary in office. He can however be elected for a second term. He shall not be amenable to criminal proceedings unless impeached or charged for high treason or offenses against the internal and external security of the State.

Chapters V-VI or Articles 53-106, inclusive, nominally, embody Dr. Sun Yat-sen's principles of a five-power government, subject to the supremacy of the President of the Republic in administration. The President of the Executive Yuan, the Premier or the Prime Minister, shall be appointed by the President of the Republic with the consent of the Legislative Yuan. The Executive Yuan prepares and submits to the Legislative Yuan bills for the budget, pardon, treaty, martial law and declarations of war.

Precedent

The spirit and letter of these arrangements can be found in the Provisional Constitution of 1912, Constitutional Draft of the Temple of Heaven of 1917 and the Constitution of 1923, generally known as the "Pig Constitution," under which President Tsao Kun was elected President of the Republic. Nevertheless, the present Constitution provides that the President of the Republic shall be elected by the National Assembly instead of the Legislative Yuan. Thus China's new Constitution gives the President of the Republic more prestige than any previous organic laws.

Members of the Legislative Yuan are sent by provinces, territories and overseas residents. They hold office for three years. Except for *flagrante delecto*, members of the Legislative Yuan cannot be apprehended and incarcerated. They cannot individually or collectively be held responsible for their opinions expressed within the chamber.

Their duties and prerogatives are generally those of senators, deputies, representatives or members of parliament in modern democracies. The exception is of course very obvious. Under China's new Constitution, the National Assembly, not the Legislative Yuan, is the last resort of the legislative function. The National Assembly is the fountain of all governmental powers—executive, judicial or legislative. The National Assembly resembles the Supreme Soviet of the USSR rather than the Anglo-American Parliament or Congress.

Judiciary

The Judicial Yuan is to be headed by a President and Vice-President appointed by the President of the Republic with the consent of the Control Yuan. Several high judges selected in the same manner shall hold office during good behavior. Their tenures shall not be subject to the fluctuation of partisan politics.

Modern civilized nations usually possess dignified and impartial juridical organizations. They require thorough education and the prestige of the bar, the prosecution and the justices. These in turn need a cooperative and conscientious public and police. In China especially, the "big shots'" willingness to submit to the rule of law is essential. • A chapter in a Constitution does not necessarily imply judicial independence.

Non-Russian students of jurisprudence have been puzzled by the People's Commissariat of Justice of the USSR's report of court proceedings in the case of the anti-Soviet "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," heard before the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR, Moscow, March, 1938. Yet the Constitution of the USSR has a chapter on the Courts and the Procurators' Office. "In the USSR justice is administered by the Supreme Court of the USSR." And "in all courts, cases are tried with the participation of the people's assessors."

In short, there are courts, procurators and jurors in Russia, along with the OGPU and NKVD. These work and the USSR is strong as a result. This again proves the old saying, "For administration let fools contest, the one which is best administered is best." It is so in judiciary as in other departments of the government. But do the people obtain justice thereby? The answer depends upon how you define the term "justice."

Civil Service

Under China's new Constitution the civil Service comes under the jurisdiction of the Examination Yuan, whose heads shall be recommended and appointed by the President of the Republic with the consent of the Control Yuan. All citizens have equal rights to hold public office. Technicians and professional personnel shall be examined and dispatched by this Yuan to other branches of the government for employment.

If the Examination Yuan is a system copied from the archaic *Lipu* or Mandarin's Ministry in the good old dynastic days, the Control Yuan is supposed to be the relic of the ancient Censors, gathering to petition the Son of Heaven, to the effect that that He had been ill-advised or misinformed. Members of the Control Yuan are delegated by the representative bodies of the different provinces and municipalities. They shall investigate the acts and doings of other public officers. They may impeach even the President of the Republic. They may deliver corrupt officials to the courts. They have other constitutional functions, including the sanction of the appointments of the Presidents of the Judicial and Examination Yuans.

They, the members of the Control Yuan, enjoy all the immunities and exemptions granted to members of Parliament in other countries: no imprisonment excepting for *flagrante delecto*, and no responsibility for their activities in office when they are out of their Yuan. The Control Yuan also controls the auditing of expenses of the government. The chief auditor is appointed by the President of the Republic with the consent of the Legislative Yuan.

The theory of check and balance is revealed here and there. In China, however, experience has shown that the evils of filibustering are usually the first fruits before anything good comes of this.

Local Vs. Central Authority

Chapter XI concerns the distribution of powers between the national and local governments. As almost any elementary textbook on political science would have it, the central government shall legislate and execute upon such matters as foreign affairs, national defense, nationality law, civil and criminal codes, international trade and customs tariffs, cables, telegrams, railroads highways, and aerial transportation, and also national revenues, currency and banking transactions.

Local communities may organize provincial assembles and are left by China's new Constitution to legislate and act upon affairs concerning local industry, education, cooperatives, fisheries, police, charity and social welfare. The magistrate of a hsien shall be elected by the residents whose domicile satisfies the election law.

Any dispute relating to the power between the central and provincial governments shall be settled by the Legislative Yuan.

Dr. Chang's Opinions

It is interesting to note that this last provision is decidedly against the recommendation of Dr. Carson Chang, leader of China's Social Democrats, who recently deserted China's Democratic League and joined the National Assembly. Dr. Chang years ago held that such controversies should be decided by the Supreme Court of the nation. The eminent scholar-statesman should be satisfied, however, in another respect. Dr. Chang has for a long time disagreed with the Canadian system in which the powers of the province are enumerated whereas residuary powers are reserved for the national government; nor has he, Dr. Chang, been content with the United States version which declares in Amendment 10 to the Constitution, that powers not delegated to the Federal government by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved for the State or for the people

Dr. Carson Chang has always insisted that the powers of both the central and local governments should be clearly defined. His scholastic contribution is now adopted by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's Constitution of 1946-7, as it was adopted by President Tsao Kun's Constitution of 1923.

It will be recalled that the question of the "Provisional System" has been most hotly debated since the days of the Constitutional Draft of the Temple of Heaven of 1917. When opposition cliques were in control of the national government, the Kuomintang was violently against diminishing local powers. In the declaration of 1924, the Kuomintang however denounced emphatically the "Federal Movement," which aimed at the realization of a type of self-

government along the lines of several American State Constitutions. The Kuomintang was opposed to such "State Constitution" agitation mostly because its leaders were General Chen Chiung-ming of Kwangtung and General Chao Heng-ti of Hunan, who were then considered to be rebels against Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

Chapter 12 adopts the Swiss methods of election, recall, initiative and referendum, which Dr. Sun Yat-sen named the Four Rights of the People.

High Ideals

Under the title, "Fundamental Policy of the State" (Chapter 14 or Articles 137-169), high-sounding phrases such as the preservation of national security and world peace are inserted. The army, navy and air force shall be non-partisan, like judges and procurators of the courts. Ironically, it is stipulated that individuals and political parties may not employ armed forces as instruments to achieve their aims. And active service personnel cannot hold simultaneously civil office.

In diplomacy, respect for the sanctity of treaties and the Charter of the United Nations Organization is the guiding principle.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's philosophy of Livelihood—equalization of landholdings and equitable distribution of private capital—is the final goal of national economy. Provisions are also made for improving productivity, public health and medicine, protection of motherhood and womanhood, guaranteeing work for able-bodied persons, insurance for the sick and disabled, and arbitration between management and employees.

The paradox of modern political idealism—socialism versus individualism—is further revealed in the articles on culture and education that aim at developing the national heritage, self-government, high morals and scientific attainments. Elementary schools shall be free and required for all children between six and 12; scholarships and fellowships shall be granted promising youths. All cultural and educational institutions shall be supervised by the state!

Education in the frontier provinces and territories shall be subsidized by the Central Government. Not less than 15 percent of the national income shall be devoted to schools and scientific purposes. The State shall protect and encourage artists, teachers, scientists, inventors and explorers.

Racial Minorities

Concerning the frontiers and territories of the minorities China's new Constitution provides that the state shall foster self-government, communication, navigation, sanitation and other social and economic advancement. Special attention shall be paid to the habits, customs and folkways of the natives and inhabitants.

The last chapter defines law as the legislation duly enacted by the Legislative Yuan and promulgated by the President of the Republic. Its effect shall of course be the invalidation of the many decrees, ordinances, mandates and regulations, often imposing capital punishment, issued by civil and military leaders.

Any law is void when in conflict with the Constitution. The interpretation of law shall be the task of the Judicial Yuan. A mandate is void when in conflict with a law of the Constitution.

Amendment

The Constitution may be amended, first, when the amendment is initiated in the National Assembly and passed by three-fourths of the Assemblymen present; secondly, when initiated by the Legislative Yuan and passed by the National Assembly.

The manner adopted for amendment is therefore more Russian than American. The last article of the Constitution of the USSR says that "the Constitution of the USSR may be amended only by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR." In America, local voices are stronger. Thus Article V of the United States Constitution stipulates that amendments may be proposed by the State Legislatures and Conventions, or Congress may initiate the changes.

Though there are discrepancies and inconsistencies, China's new Constitution is a unique document. Its passage and inauguration have been described as a credit to the Generalissimo. One English journal already has named it "General Chiang Kai-shek's Constitution," just as the French Civil Law was called the "Code Napoleon."

Will this Constitution prove more workable than China's former organic laws?

Will Emergency Measures Help, China And World Want To Know

By EUGENE CHANG

THE long-awaited part which the general populace, especially businessmen, wishes the government to play was finally put in full swing with the announcement on February 6 of Export Subsidies and Import Surcharges. More recently the Supreme National Defense Council announced economic emergency measures as steps towards stabilization of China's crippled economy. On Feb. 17, with the adoption of the emergency regulations, the Export Subsidies and Import Surcharges were accordingly declared abolished.

The emergency measures, as can be seen from the local papers, include the balancing of the national budget by increasing the national revenues, selling government-operated concern and enemy and surplus properties so that currency issuance may be reduced.

War Vital Factor

In the second place, the new measures aim at bringing the existing price level, which was skyrocketing madly in mid-February, under strict control. This is to be done by prohibiting open transactions in gold bars and ornamental gold while circulation of U.S. currency will be considered illegal.

It seems there is no good excuse for the recent gold crisis as far as the government's economic policy is concerned. The chief cause is that the people have lost confidence in the present currency since due to its steady devaluation. It is quite obvious that the sale of enemy and surplus properties can help very little to balance the nation's budget so long as civil strife is prolonged with no prospects for an early solution in sight. This is because military expenses take a paramount place in the government's budget.

Monopolies' End Welcomed

However, we were glad to learn that the authorities intend to turn government concerns into private enterprises as sources for increased revenue. The government in this connection is considered to be "wise," for in the eyes of economic observers, increased wealth to a people means increased revenue to its government.

As regards the adjusted official rate of exchange (US$1-CNC$12,000), we have no right to be optimistic. As long as smuggling in South China is rampant, there is a high probability that the black market in U.S. dollars will continue to exist and will be very difficult to control—not to say, eliminate.

Speaking of salaries and wages, we know that the new measures plan to fix them at the January 1 index level and that no increases will be made in employees' pay unless it is certain that no price rises develop. We are doubtful whether the authorities concerned will be powerful enough to combat the skitterish price level.

Pessimism Felt

While the successful enforcement of the new regulations will depend mostly upon those who are entrusted with their execution, there are no grounds for saying these new measures are the key to the solution of China's economic distress; they are rather of a temporary nature.

The writer would like to say once again that any measures intended to solve the nation's present critical situation will likely result in failure instead of success as long as the country's newspapers columns are full of nothing but reports of fighting and killing.

Letters Nos. 85 and 86 circulated by the Central Bank of China recently to designated banks say that exporters of goods sold on consignment must sell their foreign exchange to the bank within 30 days involving the areas of Hongkong, Macao and the Philippines; within 60 days for the areas of India, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, Siam, Annam and Southeast Asia, and within 90 days for all other areas.

Political Crisis Confronts Malaya; Britain's Plans Draw Opposition

By NGIAM TONG-FATT (嚴崇發)

(Special Correspondent, The China Weekly Review)

Singapore, (By Air Mail).

THE formation of the Malayan Union is a subject of much discussion not only among the domiciled peoples of Malaya but also among the Malay rulers and members of the United Malay National Organization. The Malay rulers and the United Malay National Organization are dead against the formation of the Malayan Union because the Malay rulers have lost their sovereignty and power in the administration of their states.

On November 16, 1946, the Malay rulers, the United Malay National Organization, the Governor-General and the Governor of the Malayan Union met together and signed the Report of the Constitutional Working Committee, which includes drafts for the new Federation and State Treaties. The Report of the Constitutional Working Committee was brought back to London by Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Governor-General of the Malayan Union, for Parliamentary consultations; but before his departure for London Mr. MacDonald made the following broadcast on November 19, 1946:—

"Six months ago there were not only economic, but also political difficulties in Malaya. In fact a terrific political storm was blowing. The MacMichael agreements had recently been signed and published. The Malay people were protesting against the British Government's plans for constitutional changes. The protest was country-wide. It was conducted by peaceful processes with dignity and strength.

Inauguration Boycotted

"I was treated to an admirable example of it as soon as I arrived. When the Malay rulers and leaders were invited to the ceremony of my installation as Governor-General, they politely but firmly stayed away. Like sensible people, the Malay leaders and Malayan Union Government representatives soon met to discuss their differences. Negotiations have continued in Kuala Lumpur ever since. We cannot yet announce the detailed conclusions of the talks. They have been concerned with every aspect of proposals for constitutional changes and Malayan citizenship. And if they have been long, they have also been fruitful.

"But of course other communities must be consulted. Modern Malaya is the creation of various peoples. Chinese, Indians, Eurasians and others have a right to be consulted. Therefore the Government in London promised that it would not reach final decisions on policy until their representatives also had been brought fully into the discussion."

Mr. MacDonald together with Mr. A. T. Newboult, Sir Theodore Adams, and senior legal and financial officers of the Union, flew back to London with the new Malayan Federation proposals. On December 11, 1946, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Arthur Creech Jones said in the House of Commons that the British Government had approved the essential features of the new plan for a central government in Malaya, and that there would be no final approval until all the interested communities in Malaya could express their views.

Joint Council Formed

On the eve of the return of Mr. A. T. Newboult, Chief Secretary of the Malayan Union, and Mr. K. K. O'Connor, Attorney-General, representatives of the Malay Nationalist Party, Malayan Democratic Union, Malayan Indian Congress, Straits Chinese British Association, Ceylon Tamils Association, Singapore Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union, Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions and Indian Chamber of Commerce, met in Singapore on December 14, 1946 to form the Council of Joint Action for the purpose of presenting their views on the future constitution of Malaya. The meeting was well attended and Mr. Tan Cheng Lock, of Malacca, was elected as chairman and Mr. John Eber as general secretary. The Council of Joint Action took concrete steps with determination and strength, and on December 16, the following cable was sent to the Secretary for the Colonies:—

"We, delegates of undermentioned associations, including Malays, Chinese, Indians and Ceylonese respectively, desire:

"(a) To bring to your notice the formation of our meeting on December 14, 1946, of a Council of Joint Action with a view to the organization of concerted action by different communities throughout Malaya for the purpose of presenting their views to the Government on the Malayan constitutional proposals now under His Majesty's Government's consideration, and generally on the future constitution of Malaya;

"(b) To seek your recognition of the Council as the only body which embraces all Asiatic communities of Malaya and with which the Government may conduct negotiations on constitutional issues, thus enabling the Government to deal with one representative entity constituted on national lines and speaking with the united voice of Malaya;

3 Principles Laid Down

"(c) To acquaint you with the following three principles adopted as the basis of our policy and aim: (1) a United Malaya inclusive of Singapore; (2) responsible self-government through fully elected legislature for the whole of Malaya; (3) equal citizenship rights for all making Malaya their permanent home and the object of their undivided loyalty;

"(d) To inform you that our Council is resolved to demand the rejection of all previous discussions and agreements with the Sultans and United Malay National Organization.

"(e) To inform you that a meeting is being arranged for detailed discussions within a few days and that enrolment of other major public organizations is expected."

One Country, One Nation

Mr. Tan Cheng Lock, C.B.E., is one of Malaya's elder statesmen, distinguished for his services in the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements, and with a strong backing of not only the Chinese people but also other races, including the Malays themselves. He has in mind the creation of a unified Malaya in which all the domiciled population shall be assured equality of status and rights. As Chairman of the Council of Joint Action he is strongly opposed to the draft plan for the Malayan Federation to be replaced by the Malayan Union.

In answer to criticism by the local British press, Mr. Tan said, "We have set a movement on foot aiming at winning our freedom by making Malaya one country and one nation with a common destiny for all its peoples, animated by a spirit of brotherhood and active co-operation for mutual help and benefit in all spheres of life. There is no other alternative if we Malayans of all races are intent upon facing reality and securing the supreme political goods of liberty and justice.

Mixed Population

"The geographical position of Malaya," continued Mr. Tan, "a rich and underpopulated land within easy reach of the overcrowded countries of China, India and Java, has made a mixed population inevitable. Even in a mixed population the different communities, while being politically united, can maintain their own intellectual, cultural and spiritual life."

The Council of Joint Action should be congratulated on its effort to champion the cause of the population of Malaya. It is encouraging to note that more and more associations and representative bodies have joined hands with the Council of Joint Action to fight for the rights of all the communities in Malaya. We must remember that Malaya owes its progress, prosperity and wealth to the initiative and resources of domiciled

EAT AT

Jimmy's

133 Nanking Road

Shanghai

Branch 11-3 Rue Montauban

Twilight Of Vice

V.—LITTLE "RED PEARLS"

By PAO YUE

AN unsurpassed example of devilish cunning was displayed by the Japanese in their attempts to undermine the strength and vitality of the Chinese people through the introduction of so-called "Red Pearls" (Hung-tse-tse). The fabulous profits made by opium traders in China had been exasperating to the Japanese who could not cultivate the poppy in their home islands because of the lack of available land, while the soil of other territories under their control was unsuitable for the production of a sufficiently high quality of opium to compete successfully even with the Chinese domestic grades.

Consequently the "Red Pearls" (or "Red Pills," as they were commonly called in Shanghai) made their appearance in China and were advertised by Japanese agents and canvassers as a "cheap and pleasant" substitute for opium. It was also alleged that the "Red Pills" were the best cure for opium addiction.

This statement, of course, was false. The "Red Pills" were made of no less than eight poisonous ingredients, among them heroin, cocaine, morphine, codeine, strychnine and laudanum. Grape sugar powder was the base, to which glycerine and a quantity of phosphorus was added to facilitate burning. They also contained artificial flavoring and coloring (usually red).

Deadly Concoction

The result was one of the deadliest narcotic concoctions ever offered for human consumption. No one who continuously smoked these "Red Pills" could live many years. Even after short indulgence "Red Pill" addicts developed ghastly emaciation and a greenish-black complexion. The poison inhaled entered the system and remained there, accumulating in the cells of the body, even penetrating the bones. Eventually body resistance was overcome and the sufferer died.

But even in the early stage "Red Pill" addicts lost their vitality and reproductive capacity. It is said that it was the deliberate aim of the vendors to impede the growth of Chinese population. Despite these dreadful consequences the pills became exceedingly popular, especially with the poor, because of their cheapness compared to opium.

The pills were sold in neatly folded small paper packages or envelopes with the design of the particular brand—the "Tiger," the "Lion," the "Monkey"—and the name of the producer or distributor. The most popular brands in Shanghai were: "No. 11," "The Small Shantung," "The Old Monkey," "Tiger Brand" and "The Small Dragon."

The various brands differed in color and flavor but rarely in size or quantity. Usually a 10 cent package contained from 14 to 16 pills, although certain fancy brands were sold at 10 or even 20 cents per pill—one of these was the cone-shaped "Kwa Zang Kwa" or "Long and Quick." These were much larger and intended for wealthy smokers.

Dens Filthy Holes

Ordinary "Red Pills" were smoked in dingy disreputable dens located in the dirtiest and the worst of Shanghai's districts. The customers lay on straw mats on the floor. Only the simplest paraphernalia was used—a thin short hollow bamboo pipe with a small egg-shaped procelain bowl at the end. An oil lamp and long steel needle, with which to pierce the pill, were also required.

The main attraction of the pills for the poor and destitute man was that for 10 cents he could indulge himself for a half hour or an hour without being disturbed, while the smoking of 10 cents worth of opium would take only a few minutes, and the unsatisfied addict would have to yield his place immediately to the next customer.

"Red Pills" were introduced by the Japanese in China in 1926. By 1932 they were smoked in tremendous quantities, not only in the main cities of North and Central China, but in the villages and hamlets. Even on the holy island of Pootoo there were dens opened by enterprising scoundrels for the "benefit" of pilgrims. Some of the lonely monks leased rooms over the shops near the Southern Monastery in which they indulged the vice until this was firmly suppressed by the Chinese Government in 1934.

Doomed Within 8 Years

The period over which an addict might survive the deadly poisons accumulating in his system varied, depending upon his physical condition, the quality and quantity of food he was able to afford, and the quality of the "Red Pill" he smoked. No one is known to have survived more than eight years of this habit.

Anti-"Red Pill" campaigns conducted by the Chinese Government in cooperation with French Concession and International Settlement police considerably reduced the spread of this evil. Factories were raided, their proprietors arrested and convicted. But the greatest single factor causing the decline in demand and eventual disappearance of this drug from China was a gruesome incident which occurred in Shanghai during the Sino-Japanese conflict of 1932. The scandal arose as a result of a fight in the Shanghai underworld.

It became known that while Shanghai's windowpanes reverberated to the roar of guns at Kiangwan and Woosung, there were strange transactions taking place in the darkest of the city's alleyways. Grim faced men in Japanese military trucks were paying cash for the corpses of dead "Red Pill" addicts, a particularly good price being offered for "an old smoker." The Shanghai underworld was agog with the prospect of easy money. At first nobody saw the significance of these extraordinary purchases. The idea dawned slowly.

Why did the Japs want these corpses? If it was for medical experiments, why did they want only the bodies of "Red Pill" addicts, paying better for corpses of men who had smoked for a long time? A most horrible explanation arose. The Japanese were buying the bodies of the addicts in order to extract from them the valuable poisonous substances which remained in tremendous quantities, accumulated during the years of consumption. Some asserted that there were specially constructed chemical plants in Japan for this purpose.

The sickening idea that they were smoking poisons extracted from their dead friends, subsequently to be extracted from their own corpses and resold to others, was too much for many an addict. They turned back to opium or even attempted to give up smoking, rather than play pawn in this devilish game of the deliberate and progressive extermination of their own people.

With the advent of the Pacific War, the cost of the ingredients for "Red Pills" became exorbitant; opium was again the best weapon of the Japanese in their narcotic invasion of China. "Red Pills" entirely disappeared. Let us hope that this country will never see them again.

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peoples from the various parts of the world, especially China and India; and unless the Malayan Government is truly representative of the domiciled peoples, the future of Malaya will not be very bright. Mr. MacDonald, Governor-General of the Malayan Union, had foresight and wisdom when he said that Modern Malaya is the creation of various peoples, and that Chinese, Indians, Eurasians and others have a right to be consulted.

United Malaya Wanted

If the Secretary for Colonies has approved the draft plan for the Malayan Federation, it simply means that the views of the domiciled peoples are entirely ignored by the British Government. What the Malayans want is a United Malaya and a responsible self-government through which all the peoples will have a voice in the affairs of the country.

Malaya is today experiencing a political crisis, and no matter what action the British Government may take, the voice of the people must be carefully considered. In order to keep pace with the progress of the world, Malaya must have political and constitutional reforms. It is difficult to predict the future of Malaya, though we hope to see a Malaya built on a truly democratic basis where peoples of all races will enjoy equal rights and status.

A NEW APPROACH TO CHINA'S PROBLEMS

By LAM ON-PONG (林安邦)

NO one can accuse America of being ungenerous or unhelpful to China and her people since the advent of V-J Day. Just to name a few instances; UNRRA, the Surplus Property turn-over, and the potential loan of US$500,000,000. In spite of all these, China is heading for all-out inflation, and her whole economic structure threatens to collapse like a house of cards. Why?

Even a Solomon cannot answer this question in a few apt words. The causes and results have been so complicated as to render untangling difficult and an enlightened analysis almost impossible. Many would lay the whole blame on the devastating civil war. In a general way, it is the major obstruction across the way of national recovery. But it is not the crux of China's present sorrow. Some are convinced that the corrupt Government is responsible. Yes, in more than one respect it is a stumbling block to many economic reforms. Still others insist that there is too much nationalization of key economic enterprises, while the Government has adopted a black-market economic policy having a merry time in speculation on an astronomical scale.

Deficient Policy

There have been too many test-tube policies dosed to a speculation-crazed public. Economic magnates, in trying to right the capsizing economic boat of China at a single Herculean stroke, have forgotten the obvious but important issues. They have been trying everything new that their economic brains could devise, and hoping for the best from their pet brain children. But alas! they have hatched nothing but ugly ducklings so far. Whenever one of their hush-hush economic strokes fails to solve the problems of mounting prices and an already pot-bellied inflation, they blame the Communists for disrupting the communication lines—in the North!

Instead of looking at the immediate reality of their surroundings to work out a tangible plan, they sit down with the patience of a snail, and lay another of their beautiful, golden, but inedible, eggs.

What do I mean by the obvious and important issues? Let us take Shanghai as an example. Just before the war and during the Japanese occupation, Shanghai's industries hummed with an effective intensity. She had shown that she could produce consumer goods. Although the output cannot be compared with the millions of tons produced by other countries, still we have the equipment to produce in terms of tens of kilograms.

Instead of trying to help the revival of our national industries by experimenting with a new exchange today, or a unique import restriction tomorrow, our financial and economic magnates should now take time out to think of means of keeping alive the existing factories, before all of them die an unsung, miserable death. When that happens, no amount of government export subsidy, or total import suppression will be of any help to the industrialists or the people.

Salvage Industries

We must bear in mind the fact that the level of a country is measured by her economical condition, which is dependent entirely upon her industries. No nation could survive long if she had to depend on other countries for consumer goods.

There is no reason why Shanghai's industries should be dilapidated as they are, if the Government would only organize and mobilize all existing industries in the city as if we were to go to war—an industrial war. Whatever economic and financial resources are available must be concentrated with the sole purpose of making the few factories we have yield the maximum of which they are capable.

We must not forget that the economic growth of a nation is very similar to the physical growth of a human being, who depends on the food he takes, and a good stomach to turn the food into valuable blood. The factories of a nation are the units that form the stomach on which a country must depend to survive. Think of a person without a stomach, then you may be able to appreciate the jeopardy of our national existence. Imagine a person dying from want of blood, and his physicians simply applying some stimulating ointment to his head, hoping to revive him from his fainting stupor; then you may realize how futile the methods and policies of our economic magnates have been.

Using restrictive methods to boost national trade is at best a poor means to an end. Because such methods are applicable by any country; that is to say, if China applies an export subsidy exchange, or raises her import tariffs—well, the Americans were not born yesterday, they can do the same thing to neutralize all our efforts. The recent announcement of the U.S. Embassy that the same subsidized amount of any export from China will be taxed at the States' end, is an obvious and calculated stroke to over-trump a trick before it is played.*

Who is to suffer from this foolhardy step at the moment? The whole working mass of the Chinese people is suffering from the skyrocketing of gold bars and U.S. currency, following the announcement of the Government export subsidy. We all make mistakes, but for heaven's sake, my beloved financial experts, learn a lesson from your mistakes. Think carefully of the consequences in terms of the millions tightening their belts, before you throw a monkey wrench into the already rusty economic machinery of the nation.

If you must fight it out north of the Yangtze, then, you who worship Mars and advocate the sword as the only means to settle a party difference, fight it out like men, and make it clean and decisive! The voice of the common people does not seem to matter to you at all. Shorten our agony, if you still have that much mercy left! As to the liberal elements of the Government, and the minority third parties, we beg of you, do something with whatever economic means we have in our hands, to revive whatever economic, and industrial life is left.

As for my fellow citizens, merchants, capitalists and industrialists in particular, let me plead with you too. Keep up business morale, and please do not rely on speculation and the black market as your only means of survival. You may get away with a couple of billion by rocketing the prices of your merchandize and products in pace with gold bars and U.S. notes. But in the end, with higher labor costs, and unmarketably high prices, you may discover you have been biting your own tail after all!

Factory Closures

The number of factory and company closures should be warning enough for you to take heed that you are only lucky so far; you may be the next to crack up.

Never since the Revolution was our national existence so threatened as now. During our war of resistance, we had at least the sympathy of the world and the aid of America. Now we have not only a merciless Frankenstein within our house, but a contemptuous world outside and a friend who is losing patience with our stupidity. We are all alone now.

This is no time to consider individual luxury and existence. Where will you be, if your nation goes out of existence? Gold that is procurable through human ingenuity and effort, is no guarantee of a free human existence for people without a country. Look at the Jews! At no other time was individual action so critical and so vital to the existence of the nation as it is now. Granted that the Government is not shining white, granted that there are obstinate reactionaries within its structure, granted that we are suffering the uncertainties of the damned, these are not reason enough to cast our vote for the overthrow of an already established government, although it is still a one party affair.

CHOICE IMPERATIVE

You may argue that disagreement with the Government does not mean you are a Communist. But at this juncture of national development, any individual disagreement is so much

**EDITOR'S NOTE:—Both the reader and Mr. Lam should bear in mind the fact that the U.S. Tariff Law referred to was enacted in 1930.*

encouragement to the Communists, whose sole intent, proved by their actions and obstinate demands, is the autocratic control of the whole of government machinery. Unless one prefers an entirely new form of autocratic tyranny, a sample of which may be observed in Stalin's Russia and the so-called liberated areas, my plea is justified. If it is, then each individual must choose now, it is a time that allows of no more sitting on the fence. There are only two sides, every Chinese must choose, and choose by weighing carefully the pros and cons of the two systems of government.

To Bring Peace

If you think the existing system wins by a nose's length, you are justified in casting your vote there. Then work with the one purpose of bringing peace to the country with the government, though it may seem repugnant at times.

The paramount thing that counts is to secure peace and unity first, be enforced. That is an irrevocable historical fact. Only with concerted individual opinion and action can we hope to bring this obnoxious civil war to a speedy conclusion. There is nothing more rediculous than to say that both sides are wrong, and hope that both sides will put down their guns meekly. If there were that much respect for human reason in either side, there wouldn't be any civil war. For that matter, there would have been no reason for war anywhere in the whole world since history began.

Unfortunately, both sides refuse to put down their guns, and guns they have. As the still more unfortunate, unwilling, sandwiched people, it is up to us to have the untidy mess cleared up as quickly as possible, and that by adopting sides with clear-headedness.

Public Duty

Those who are with the government, whatever their professions may be, should not commit actions to embarrass the government, with its record it is embarrassing enough. Each must settle down with a determination to self-sacrifice by keeping at his professional station with a conscience. That is to say, merchants should keep to legitimate profit and loss, industrialists and capitalists should pool their resources and their policy to make their factories hum with production, students should stick to their classrooms and their studies, and professors to their role of guiding the youthful minds to a clearer and more far-sighted perspective for the nation's future.

This is a time when we must keep cool heads, and use our common sense reasoning powers, avoiding blind emotionalism. Keep in mind that the welfare of all is the welfare of the individual. While as individuals, we are weak and impotent, and our lives were never cheaper than now, we must live with a mission in our mind, the unselfish mission of each helping to bring peace to our country.

American Attitude

At this juncture, the writer wishes to have a heart to heart talk with a section of the American people, whose attitude, though they have the best intentions and good wishes, is somewhat illogical. I mean particularly that section of the American public which accuses its Government of assisting the Chinese Government to prolong the civil war. This is as ridiculous as if we Chinese accused the American Government of undemocratic action in jailing John L. Lewis for calling an illegal strike. The difference is that John L. did not have guns to back up his bluff. One thing I must call to the attention of our American friends; the emergence of the Chinese Republic under the leadership of the KMT has been essentially autocratic by force of circumstances, in order to bring orderliness to a country that has gone through the greatest trials any country in history ever had. Don't you think you are expecting miracles; that right after escaping from a narrow death, the Chinese Government should be able to change into a brand new American style democracy over night, without even having a chance of cooperation by the Communists?

Granted that the KMT is the scoundrel you imagine it to be, even a scoundrel may not be wrong all the time. It seems to me that the Government still has the right to ignore unreasonable demands from any party, before the establishment of a democratic constitutional government. The CP in refusing to relinquish their unjustifiable demands, and sticking to their guns, not only have forfeited their right to share in government, but also have outlawed themselves, and should bear all the consequences of destruction and the suffering of the people. What would the American Government do to a gang of Dillingers? I hear there also has been a policy of bullet for bullet and calling them rats. When the CP commit mass massacre on a scale only equalled by the fine art of Hitler's super-race, and Tojo's Co-prosperity creators, what is your verdict, my fair minded American friends?

China's Destiny

As to those who yell that the Government is a one party affair, without the third parties accepting the invitation to partake in the new Government with promptness as a start, how do they expect to increase this one party affair? It seems to me that fairness and reasonableness for the sake of the tottering country and the suffering masses should be the keynotes of all parties partaking in the reorganization of the new government. This is no time to bargain for more party power, give the people a break. The destiny of the nation lies precariously in your hands—Don't toy with it.

Institute Of Economics Set Up, Begins Research Studies Here

(McGraw-Hill World News)

PATTERNED on the Brookings Institute, the China Institute of Economics has been established with Dr. Franklin L. Ho and Dr. H. D. Fong, two of China's leading economists, as director and deputy director, respectively.

The Institute, an independent organization financed by an endowment fund and contributions from Chinese business, industry and finance, has two purposes: (1) constructively aid in the development of sound national and international economic policies by providing detailed research studies and (2) train advance students of economics for service in private and public institutions.

Work Already Begun

Seven research studies are under way already: State Vs. Private Enterprise in China, Chinese Company Act, the new Sino-American Treaty of Commerce, China and International Economic Cooperation, Trade and Exchange Control in China, Chinese Economy during the Last 20 Years, and Index of Wholesale Commodity Prices in Shanghai Since the War. Others scheduled for early development are: Economic Position of China in the Pacific, World Position of Chinese Exports, China as a Market for American Exports, Tax Burden of Chinese Business and Industry, and Government Control of Business Enterprise in China.

In a country where government economic policies and legislation are influenced by day to day political events rather than by the nation's long-run, best interests, Dr. Ho and Dr. Fong state that the Institute will provide for the first time detailed studies of the government and its relation to economic life and of China's international economic position. In this way they hope it will promote sound economic policies.

Both Dr. Ho and Dr. Fong, who was author of a National Planning Association pamphlet—Postwar Indutrialization of China—were former directors of the Nankai University Institute of Economics, China's best pre-war independent research unit. Nankai University is now a national university.

Dr. Ho To Visit U.S.

Assistance has been given the Institute by the French Government through its embassy which leased a part of the old French Barracks at 75 Route Frelupt, Shanghai, at a nominal rental of CNC$1,000 per month. The Institute has set aside space for the Institute of Pacific Relations' office and is building up from domestic and foreign contributions a research library, which numbers 6,000 volumes.

In the spring Dr. Ho will visit the United States to develop further connections for cooperation and assistance.

Resolutions On Land Reform In Shantung Province

(Order by the Shantung Provincial Government, numbered Ming 37, issued Oct. 25, 1946).

Translation Edited by Elizabeth Graham

CHAPTER 1—GENERAL PRINCIPLES

ARTICLE 1. This resolution has been adopted in order to carry out the resolutions passed by the People's Consultative Council, (footnote: an all-party conference held in Chungking early this year), to promote land reform, and to meet the just popular demands for the return of land to the peasantry, thus establishing a new democratic economy through the "land for the tillers" program and providing a stable basis for the democratization of the nation.

ARTICLE 2. The term "land" as used in this resolution shall mean cultivatable fields, pastures and forests, as well as mountain tracts, swamps and homesteads. Land used in commercial or industrial enterprise does not fall within the scope of this document.

CHAPTER 2—CONFISCATION OF LAND

ARTICLE 3. Land in the following categories, except in special cases, shall be confiscated by the government and distributed among the peasantry:—

a.) All lands owned by Japanese or puppet enterprises;

b.) Land owned by high-ranking traitors; (however, 1½ to 2 mow shall be left for each member of such official's family, together with necessary household furnishings, thus enabling them to maintain their livelihood.)

c.) All "black land" (footnote: lands which have not been registered with the government in an effort to obstruct land reform or to evade taxation) and public lands which have been illegally seized by landlords.

CHAPTER 3—THE LAND OF LANDLORDS

ARTICLE 4. Restitution for all types of illegal exploitation of peasants by landlords shall be made in terms of land. The landlord may retain title to whatever amount of land remains after the liquidation of such debts to the peasantry.

ARTICLE 5. Whether or not the landlords own sufficient property to make restitution in full, he shall be left with enough land to provide for an adequate livelihood, together with the necessary houses, cattle and farm implements, in accordance with the following standards:—

a.) Landlords who can be characterized as "how shen" or "erh pa" (footnote: respectively, those who gained excessive power over the peasantry through former government connections, and those who, as leaders or influential members of gangs, were able to intimidate the peasantry into submission) shall be allowed to retain, after settling their accounts with the peasants, a little less land than the average middle farmer in the locality, computed on a per capita basis. (For instance, if the average middle farmer of a given village owns 3 mow of land for each member of his family, the landlord family of the type herein specified would retain 1½ to 2 mow per capita.) Part of such landlords' houses and furnishings shall be used in repayment of their debts to the peasants and part shall be retained for the use of their families.

b.) Middle and small landlords shall retain fifty percent more Land than an average middle peasant, computed on a per capita basis. (For instance, if the average middle-farmer family owns 3 mow of land per capita, the families of landlords herein specified shall retain 4½ mow per head.) Their houses, farm equipment and cattle shall not, in general, be used in making restitution.

c.) Landlords having a member of their immediate family serving in the army, government or people's organization, or landlords who have had a member of their immediate family killed in defence of the nation, shall retain twice the amount of land owned by the average middle peasant. (For instance, if the average middle-peasant family has 3 mow of land per capita, a landlord family of the category shall retain 6 mow per capita.) If the total amount of such landlord's holdings already falls below this standard, he shall not be required to make restitution but he shall not receive additional land though the distribution program. If such landlords have suffered heavy losses from the war, provision shall be made to ensure them an adequate livelihood.

d.) Landlords who participated in the anti-Japanese war or in the democratic movement shall retain the same quota of land as the above (group *c*).

ARTICLE 6. Landlords of the type specified in Article 5, group c, who voluntarily contribute land for redistribution to peasants, shall receive government commendation and shall receive special consideration in procuring an adequate livelihood. However, such contributed land must be placed at the disposition of the government or of the Peasants' Organization to ensure proper redistribution among the peasantry. This land may not be handed over to individuals as a personal gift.

ARTICLE 7. All the above provisions for the disposal of landlords' property shall be applied to landlords who have fled from the Liberated Area. The land which the absentee landlord retains after making restitution to the peasants (in accordance with Article 5) shall be held for him by the government until he returns to receive it back.

CHAPTER 4—TAKING OVER LAND WITH COMPENSATION

ARTICLE 8. If, following payment of debts to the peasantry and voluntary contribution of land, the remaining land owned by the landlord is greater than the standards prescribed in Article 5, the difference shall be taken over by the government with compensation, in accordance with the following principles:—

a.) The government shall issue bonds (footnote: actually these are more in the nature of promissory notes) for the land thus taken over, to be held by the landlord. Half of the price of such land shall be paid by the government and half by the peasant receiving title to the land as his share in the redistribution program. The peasant shall pay one-tenth of his obligation annually, beginning payment with the second year of tenure and completing payment within ten years. The landlord shall receive one-tenth of the total compensation annually, receiving the entire amount in ten years.

b.) The price of land thus taken over shall be determined by a joint conference among representatives of the *hsien* (county) or *shih* (special administrative unit for large cities) government, the landlords and the peasants. The price shall generally be lower than market price, and may be progressively diminished until half the market value is reached.

c.) If the per capita holdings of a landlord's family exceeds twice the allowance set forth in Article 5 (i.e., if the family retained 9 to 12 mow per head), compensation for the land will be lowered by one-tenth of the market value. Each time additional holdings again double the prescribed standard, compensation for the land shall again be reduced by one-tenth of the market value until the land price reaches one-half of the market value. (footuote: if X is standard, price is reduced at 2x, 3x, 4x, etc.).

d.) Land bonds shall be issued in terms of grain and land compensation shall also be computed in terms of grain.

e.) Land cultivated by rich farmers, regardless of the size of holding, shall not be effected by this chapter.

f.) Compensation paid for land owned by absentee landlords shall be held by the government until such time as the owner returns to reclaim this amount.

ARTICLE 9. City workers, craftsmen, professionals, teachers, junior office employees, small merchants, etc., who rent their small landholdings (not exceeding the scale of a middle peasant's holdings), shall not have their lands effected by this chapter.

ARTICLE 10. Excessive numbers of important farm implements or animals belonging to landlords may be taken over with compensation when necessary at reduced prices or at half the market value.

ARTICLE 11. Industrial, commercial and mining enterprises owned by landlords and rich peasants shall not be taken over.

CHAPTER 5—SPECIAL LANDS

ARTICLE 12. Public lands, waste lands, mountain tracts, lakes, rivers and seashores may be redistributed among the peasantry for cultivation, reclamation or reforestration. However, they may be left as public property if the area cannot be distributed or if the public so decides.

ARTICLE 13. School lands providing funds for public education shall be left partly or entirely untouched. Such lands already distributed shall not be restored. Villages that retain no school lands shall, by public agreement, set aside a suitable amount for this purpose from the lands available for redistribution.

ARTICLE 14. Disposal of lands held by temples and missions, as well as clan property which finances ancestral worship, shall be determined by joint agreement among the villagers, clan elders and members of the religious organization involved. At the demand of the peasantry, such lands shall be distributed, exempting sufficient property to provide the missionaries, monks, nuns, etc., with an adequate livelihood.

ARTICLE 15. Disposal of lands belonging to Moslem Mosques shall be in accordance with public decisions reached by the Moslem population.

ARTICLE 16. Land devoted to public welfare (such as land supporting orphanages, hospitals, cripples' homes, etc., shall not be effected by this program.

CHAPTER 6—DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

ARTICLE 17. Lands confiscated, contributed or taken over with compensation, as well as public lands to be redistributed, shall be considered collectively in apportioning shares to landless peasants or those with insufficient lands. The settlement shall be reached through the co-

operation of the local government and the Peasant Organization.

ARTICLE 18. Lands received from landlords in payment of debts to the peasantry shall be distributed by the Peasant Organization both to those who have lodged claims against the landlords and the those without economic holdings.

ARTICLE 19. Families who have sacrificed a member in the national cause, honorably discharged soldiers and revolutionary officers, demobilized government and army personnel and the dependents of army and government personnel, if in need of land, shall receive a fair allotment for each member of the family. Priority shall be given such persons in distributing the most fertile and most conveniently located plots. Demobilized or honorably discharged soldiers who come from other regions shall have priority in receiving an allotment with which to establish a new home.

ARTICLE 20. Landless peasants or those with uneconomic holdings shall receive their due share in accordance with the size of their families. However, the amount of land assigned to a peasant on the basis of his claims against a landlord must not increase his total holdings above the standards of a middle peasant.

ARTICLE 21. Unemployed country or city laborers, as well as impoverished city families, shall enjoy equal rights to a share of the land. Beggars and loafers shall also receive an allotment so that they may reform themselves into productive farmers. Widows and widowers, as well as those who are single, shall receive a land allotment.

ARTICLE 22. Land reclaimed by the army, by governmental offices and by public organizations shall not be effected by this program. Experimental farms and truck gardens set up by various governmental departments shall not be distributed.

ARTICLE 23. The families of Kuomintang officers and soldiers, who are classed as poor peasants and reside in the Liberated Areas, may receive the proper per capita allotment.

ARTICLE 24. All poor people who once served under the puppet government or army shall, upon repentance, receive their share in the distribution if they are otherwise eligible for land. However, after receiving this allotment, the holdings of such families should be less than that of an average middle peasant.

ARTICLE 25. Land shall generally be distributed within a village as one collective unit. However, the distributed land may be augmented by land from neighboring villages or even adjacent administrative districts, with the approval of the administrations involved.

CHAPTER 7—RIGHT OF OWNERSHIP

ARTICLE 26. Following land distribution, full right of ownership shall be transferred to the peasant receiving land under this program. The land shall be entirely at his disposal.

ARTICLE 27. A deed of ownership shall be issued by the *Shih* or *Hsien* governments to the peasant receiving the land in those cases involving land obtained through confiscation, contribution or compulsory sale, or in the case of public or school lands. If the distributed land was received from a landlord as restitution, a deed transferring title shall be made out to the peasant assigned this plot. Previous deeds of ownership shall be publically annulled and burned.

ARTICLE 28. Within six months after obtaining title to the land, the peasants shall pay their land taxes to the government, thereby confirming legal ownership.

ARTICLE 29. The land and other property of landlords, following completion of the land reform program, shall have the full legal protection of the government. Land leases may be broken if the landowner wants to cultivate the leased plot himself. Landlords who have carried out the provisions of this resolution and who have shown a sympathetic attitude toward the land reform program shall enjoy adequate rewards from the government and shall be aided in transfering their activities to industrial or commercial enterprises.

CHAPTER 8—MISCELLANEOUS

ARTICLE 30. Legal industrial and commercial enterprises of landlords and rich farmers shall not be attached for payment of debts to the peasantry and shall not be taken over with compensation, as this land reform program is directed solely against forms of feudal exploitation.

ARTICLE 31. In general, self-cultivated lands of rich farmers shall not be effected by this program. Only that part of such farmers' holdings used in feudally exploiting other peasants may be attached for restitution or be taken over with compensation. New-type rich farmers, who have accumulated their property as a result of their own labors with the help of the previous rent-reduction program and the production movement, shall not be effected by this resolution.

CHAPTER 9—APPENDIX

ARTICLE 32. Following public announcement of this resolution, all prior laws and resolutions concerning land problems which conflict with this order are hereby rendered null, and void, and this resolution alone shall be effective.

ARTICLE 33. The right of revising this resolution is vested in the provisional People's Representative Council of Shantung Province. The right of interpreting this resolution rests with the Shantung Provincial Government.

ARTICLE 34. This resolution has been adopted at a joint conference of the Permanent Committee and the Administrative Committee of the Shantung People's Representative Council. It shall be executed by the Shantung Provincial Government, effective date of publication.

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LET THE STUDENTS LIVE

By FRANK L. TSAO

OWEN Lattimore recently wrote of the student movement in China that this movement "has significant bearings upon China's politics." Viewing the inconceivable foolishness of the Chinese Government in dealing with this "significant movement," we might as well add that this foolishness also has "significant bearings" on China's student movement.

It is already a matter of common sense that a mass movement with a firm historic and social background cannot be suppressed or killed, especially when it is violently aroused. To be sagacious, the governing party should guide it into, and not drive it out of, the normal trend of development, since wherever there is smoke, there is fire.

As we see it, the fire of the civil war with its consequent speedy currency inflation, is extremely hot. Social, economic and political unrest is boiling. What has the governing group done about it?

Attacks Brutal, Bloody

In December, 1945, the students in Kunming as well as in other cities, threatened by the imminent expansion of an all-out civil war, staged an anti-civil war campaign. They were honest and naive, yet, they were struck down hard and mercilessly. Four died and scores were seriously injured.

Three weeks later, the students in Shanghai paraded to the Palace Hotel as a gesture of welcome to the peace envoy, General George C. Marshall, hoping that the American mediator would honestly help China attain peace and democracy. There was nothing wrong with this demonstration in view of the then existing friendship between the two nations.

You know how the parade ended—in a mob attack by members of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps.

In February, 1945, shortly after the Political Consultative Conference resolutions had been passed, a massacre took place in Nantung, a big city in Northern Kiangsu. A number of school teachers and middle school students lost their lives because they expressed their feelings to the field team dispatched by the Peiping Executive Headquarters. Corpses were later found in deserted valleys and nearby brooks, mostly mutilated.

Paraders Dismissed

Last June, as the bellicose elements in China planned to solve the domestic issues by force and not by the honest implementation of the all party PCC decisions, outraged Shanghai students, marching side by side with citizens from all walks of life, demonstrated for a complete and immediate cessation of civil strife which, if continued unhampered, would undoubtedly ruin them and their fatherland.

More than 400 "fighters" were organized to sabotage the parade, which was, however, unexpectedly large and strong. Apparently, as a result of their "bold act", thousands of the paraders were dismissed.

And now, on February 5 and 8, one month after the promulgation of the new "Constitution of the Chinese Republic," the students in Chungking have been ruthlessly beaten by a group of special agents as they tried to spread their patriotic ideas throughout the country, advocating the ousting of the U.S. armed forces from Chinese soil.

Ambushed By Military

Eight students, by the names Liu Kuang-Yung, Hsu Yung-kang, Miss Hsia Shi-kwei, Wang Chuan-yi, Chow Ching, Li Ying-chung, Kiang Dien and Miss Li Tsai-shiu, were seriously wounded in an ambush prepared for them by special agents who were directed by "a military man driving a jeep."

Simultaneously, in Peiping, special agents and the police received secret instructions from some responsible headquarters to arrest all the blacklisted "red elements" in the old Capital, which order naturally included the progressive students. This order, according to an open article appearing in the wall-paper in the Peiping University, "must" be strictly carried out before the withdrawal of the American armed forces from that city.

The Peita coeds, not without fear, approached their well-known president, Dr. Hu Shih, ex-Chinese Ambassador to the United States, asking for protection.

On February 11, representatives of the Student Councils of the Yenching, Peiping, Tsinghua, Peiyang and Chungfa universities went to the municipal authorities to demand protection of their freedom of person, as stipulated in Article 8 of the new Constitution.

800 Students Expelled

Yet, the reader should remember without difficulty, more than 3,000, including prominent scholars and professors, were arrested by the Peiping police and gendarmes the following week.

Coupled with these wholesale roundups, the authorities of Peiping University, of which, we should repeat, Dr. Hu Shih is the president, expelled 800 students, that is, one quarter of the student body in that high institution. A part of them left the school campus due to economic causes while the others were compelled to do the same for sheer political reasons.

Similar happenings, although to a less serious extent, took place in other institutions, such as Tsinghua and Nankai Universities.

These actions were carried out by the Government, apparently with the sole aim of suppressing the student movement and maintaining its corrupt rule. The aims are simple and naked and need not be hidden or camouflaged.

The question that interests the people, is: "What are the consequences?"

Driven To Red Areas

It can well be imagined how the student victims felt when they were treated even worse than pigs. How would you feel if you were slapped and trampled simply because you were doing something that is highly justified, to save yourself and your compatriots? How would you react if you were driven into a dead-end?

Naturally, the foolish actions of the government would have one of two consequences. Either the victims, if they survived, would work against the government within the KMT-controlled areas, with ever more fury and vigor or they would be forced to flee to the Communist-held areas and thus strengthen the Communists' influences.

"They have to live," that is the simplest answer.

Every sensible person who understands the characteristics and social background of the Chinese student, must see how ignorant and stupid these actions are, as they have aroused so much fury and condemnation from the most influential classes in China, which have placed the governing party in complete isolation.

"Kicking And Killing"

For more than 20 years, the Kuomintang failed to understand these simple truths, that the Chinese students would incline more to it rather than the Communists, if it did not treat them as enemies. It also failed to understand the other significant point that a "red hat" deliberately thrown to the progressive generation could not scare the latter, since the intellectual group in China can never be satisfied with the corrupt rule of the rotten bureaucrats who know nothing but graft and squeeze. Furthermore, it has not realized that the same old methods of "kicking and killing" that have been constantly applied to the student body, could not be patent remedies for all the corruption and the criminal acts being committed with never a sign of repentance.

The students of the Chungshan University in Canton have put it clearly and lucidly:

"What makes us suffer from hunger? The Civil War.

"Who wants the civil war? Warlords, Moneylords and Bureaucrats."

Hence there is no question as to who should be held responsible and severely punished for staging and continuing the civil strife that is dealing a death blow to China's recovery.

Existence Endangered

Already, a number of political and economic writers, here and abroad, have pointed out that the existence of the civil war is the force that presses down the nation and arouses the people. They must protest, they must struggle and fight, these writers declared.

"The people's existence has been threatened by the beginning of the economic collapse, on the one hand, and by the political counter-current, on the other," the Student Council of

Financial, Commodity Markets Quiet; Shares Strong, Active

AS a result of the government's control measures of February 17, both the financial and commodity markets became quiet during the week ending February 22. All trading in gold bars and American bank notes has been stopped and several million dollars' worth of greenbacks are reported to have been sold to the Central Bank of China at the official price of CNC$12,000, less three percent, or CNC$11,6440. Only small numbers of gold bars were reported to have been sold to the Central Bank.

In view of the increasing number of people who have been queuing up to sell greenbacks to the Central Bank, the Bank of China, the Bank of Communications, the National City Bank of New York and the Chase Bank have been appointed designated as its agents to buy greenbacks for the Central Bank, without compensation.

Profiteers To Face Court

The investigation into the responsibility for the recent "gold rush" continued. Although it was reported by the press that a black list had been prepared, no names have yet been published. However, it was definitely stated that the manager of the Sin Dah Cotton Cloth Shop had engaged in the buying and selling of more than 2,000 gold bars for speculation and that a high official of the Tsinghai Provincial Government had used CNC$350,000,000 of official funds to purchase gold bars. Military officers have been sent here from Nanking to check up the account books of the gold shops in order to ascertain whether or not any military officers have engaged in gold speculation.

In addition to the investigation into gold speculation, the authorities have been very strict in investigations of speculation in and hoarding of commodities, especially daily necessities. The managers of several rice shops have been arrested and will soon be tried in the local courts on charges of having hoarded large quantities of rice.

New Directive Issued

To tighten the control measures, the Executive Yuan has sent a seven-point directive to all provincial and municipal governments to enforce strictly the Government's new emergency economic measures. The seven points are:

(1) Immediate banning of gold transactions;
(2) Banning of circulation of and transactions in foreign currency;
(3) Prohibition of strikes;
(4) Prohibition of speculation and market manipulation;
(5) Outlawing of hoarding;
(6) Local authorities should be responsible for supervising the rationing of daily necessities; and
(7) Commodity prices should remain at the official levels.

Share Mart Active

As idle capital has found no outlet with gold transactions banned and hoarding prohibited, the Shanghai Securities Exchange remained active. Quotations continued to rise and business increased in volume. Many banks are reported to have bought large blocks of stocks and shares during the past week.

Commodity prices as a whole reportedly have shown a downward trend. Rice was quoted CNC$110,000 while prices of cotton yarn and cotton cloth dropped heavily. Raw silk remained firm because of export demand while artificial silk was high because of limited supply by the Central Trust. The following list gives the quotations of some of the leading commodities in Shanghai on February 15 and February 22, respectively:—

	Feb. 15 CNC$	Feb. 22 CNC$
Gold bars	6,250,000	4,800,000
US $ Notes	12,000	12,000
Bond C	7,400	7,600
Wing On Textile	1,665	2,280
Mayar Silk	3,800	5,400
Ewo Cotton	14,500	17,800
Rice	120,000	110,000
Wheat flour	46,000	54,500
Peanut oil	240,000	240,000
20's Yarn	3,900,000	3,200,000
12 lb. Cloth	152,000	146,000
Raw silk	7,100,000	7,900,000
Artificial silk	6,250,000	7,400,000
Ruby Queen cigarettes	34,000	38,400
Koo Ban Soap	245,000	245,000
My Dear matches	1,750,000	1,530,000
Newsprint	95,000	120,000

The Central Bank of China has notified the American Chamber of Commerce that "in accordance with a resolution of the Executive Committee of the Foreign Exchange Examination Department, goods which have been shipped in good faith from both Europe and America on Bills of Lading dated up to November 26, 1946 may be considered as Pre-Zero commitments."

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the National Chekiang University in Hangchow declared two weeks ago. "The future of our nation is at the brink of destruction. We cannot bear any more. We cannot keep silent any longer."

Numerous strikes and demonstrations have been staged by students throughout the country, but seemingly completely in vain.

The civil war goes on unchecked, with the unilateral support of and intervention by the United States Government. The people, especially the well-educated college students, firmly believe that if the United States honestly adopts a hands-off policy toward China, the civil war will instantly cease and that peace and democracy can be achieved through the country's own efforts.

Measures Futile

Consequently, they strongly oppose the stationing of U.S. armed forces in China, the continuation of the supply of raw materials to one side in the civil war and the U.S. policy toward China.

Yet they have been struck down and ambushed and suppressed. But to thus suppress this kind of mass movement is like tightening the lid of the boiler while setting a furious fire under it. It is natural that the boiler one day will burst.

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NEWS OF THE WEEK

Generalissimo Visits Civil War Front; Battle Said Intensified

HAVING issued directives to various government organs on how to handle the economic situation which arose last week, and after advising the nation that only with the efforts of all citizens could China emerge victorious from her present difficulties, the Generalissimo visited the Shantung front, where the battle was reported growing in intensity. This was his third trip to the civil war fronts since the breakdown of the KMT-Communist negotiations. The Generalissimo paid a short visit to Tsinan, capital of Shantung and center of the anti-Communist operations in the province.

In the meanwhile, the Executive Yuan, following up initial measures to cope with the economic crisis, sent a seven-point directive to all provincial and municipal governments. These included the immediate banning of gold transactions, the banning of foreign currency circulation and transactions, the prohibition of strikes, prohibition of speculation and market manipulation, outlawing of hoarding and rationing of daily necessities.

On the question of strike prohibition there appeared to arise some controversy and a possible source of discord inasmuch as the General Labor Union submitted a proposal to the Executive Yuan and the Bureau of Social Affairs to continue publication of the cost of livining index. The proposal pointed out to the fact that the freezing of wages at the January level "will lead to serious consequences."

The National Union of Postal Workers sent nine delegates to Nanking and issued a manifesto appealing against the Government order freezing wage levels. The statement declared that prices determine wages and not vice versa, while the principal cause of rising prices is the continuation of the civil war. The manifesto further pointed out that as things stand today "no one could use January wages to purchase things in February and the measure is sure to menace workers' security and decrease efficiency."

Speculators Arrested

THE Government last week began a probe into the activities of circles charged with utilizing productive loans to purchase gold bars and by the middle of this week the managers of three firms had been arrested by the Woosung-Shanghai Garrison Headquarters, handed over to the Procurate of the District Court and charged with misusing industrial loan funds "against the public interest and in contraventon of the stipulations of the loan."

Earlier, Gen. Hsuan Ti-wu, commander of the garrison forces here, had declared himself ready to fight the "tigers" in the gold speculation case. The three managers were placed in the "fly" rather than in the "tiger" class by the Chinese press, inasmuch as they had purchased only 140 gold bars. It was clesar that other more influential speculators remained undiscovered.

T. V. Soong Attacked For Policy

AN article in the *Ta Kung Pao*, signed by PPC member Fu Meng-tseng, vigorously attacked the economic policies of Dr. T. V. Soong, president of the Executive Yuan. The article was entitled: "This sort of T. V. Soong Must Go." The main criticism was aimed at the "inconsistent and contradictory gold policy," the policy of withholding 40 percent of the savings of gold bond holders and the later dumping of the open market with gold bars. The author also charged Soong with keeping all the money-making establishments for the Government and selling the non-profit-making plants at public auction.

Army Men Implicated?

INITIALLY, a part of the Chinese press tended to blame Dr. H. H. Kung, former prime minister, as responsible for the market upheavals, and one paper even went so far as to report that a "hand-maiden from the house of Kung" was seen purchasing gold bars. Later, however, it was indicated that a number of highly placed army officers could be implicated in the speculation when the Ministry of Defense issued orders to the Economic Supervisory Commission to investigate rumors that military men had used public funds to speculate in the markets.

Russell in The Los Angeles Times

A 20 percent reward was offered by the Government to informants who would give clues leading to the discovery of illegal gold dealings as well as any transactions in terms of gold. This included the selling and buying of houses and real estate in terms of gold, long a local practice.

Measures Not Passed

WHILE emergency measures were still awaiting passage by the Legislative Yuan, it transpired that the proposals submitted by the Supreme National Defense Council to the Yuan to provide for punishment of violators of these measures had been rejected by that body.

At the yuan meeting, the policy of Dr. T. V. Soong was hotly criticized, while one member of the yuan declared that the imposition of the ban on gold transactions would affect the poorer people greatly. As reasoning to support his contention he said that the "common people" had invested in gold when they began to lose confidence in the national currency, but were now forced to sell their savings in gold back to the Government.

Sale Of Enemy Property

THE proposed issue of shares by a number of Government owned enterprises to "ease the economic situation" and to sell such enterprises to private capital has been considered anew following the advent of the recent economic crisis.

There is no question of shortage of capital in private hands—once said by the Government to be one of the main reasons why these enterprises were operated by the Government. The market is flooded with idle capital, but as it is thought that the monopolies are in fact controlled by a number of influential persons and not the Government as such, the actual sale of these enterprises into private hands is held unlikely to materialize.

Levies on capital property mooted for many months were finally passed by taxation conference called by the Finance Ministry this week which acted with a view to increasing the national revenue to balance the budget. Whether the ministry itself, the Legislative and the Executive yuans will vote this new law remains to be seen. Professor of Economics Fong Hsien-ting of Nankai University, writing in the *Ta Kung Pao* a few days prior to the passing of this resolution, expressed the opinion that the tendency of profits to be redistributed in favor of the opulent which began during the war continues and will hardly be halted by such measures as the property tax, because of "the close relations between a few people in whose hands the wealth is concentrated" and the government.

Curbing Of Expenses

GOVERNMENT efforts to curb unnecessary expenses encountered difficulties inasmuch as the creation of new branches of the Government was required if the control and rationing of essential commodities are to prove effective. The creation of such branches would mean an in-

crease in government expenditures, rather than their curtailment.

The local Chinese press, meanwhile, reported the worsening of the economic plight of a number of firms which until recently had exhibited all signs of successful operation. Among these was the Central Air Transport Corporation which reports said would wind up its business by the ends of February owing to an estimated monthly loss of around CNC$2,500,000,000. The other large concern was the Ming Sung Industrial Corporation, which was said to be "groaning under the continuance of the civil war." Commandeering of ships for army use has caused the company to incur a liability of CNC$13,500,000,000.

UNRRA Cotton Asked

THE Government request for permission to utilize UNRRA supplies to stabilize economic conditions here has thus far not brought any decision on the part of the UNRRA Central Committee, but the fact that the committee had not rejected the proposal outright gave CNRRA representatives in Washington hope that it might be approved.

UNRRA was considering the shipment of US$19,000,000 worth of cotton to this country, according to authoritative sources in Washington.

Withdrawal Rumors Denied

RUMORS which arose with the summoning of Admiral Charles J. Cooke, Jr., to Washington for consultations alleged that the U.S. Navy was preparing to withdraw from China. These rumors were scotched by President Truman himself, who declared that he "had not heard the report that the U.S. Navy is withdrawing from China."

In Peiping, 12 professors of the National Tsinghua and Peking universities issued a joint declaration protesting against the arrest of more than 2,000 persons in the former capital during the past week. "Many of these arrested persons are prominent people in Peiping," the protest declared and demanded either their immediate release or a speedy trial.

UP correspondent Reynolds Packard, in Peiping, said that while the reasons for the arrests were not given "reports were current that most of them have been anti-Kuomintang."

Some quarters, students in particular, tended to link the beginning of the Marine withdrawal from Peiping with the inception of a drive by the authorities against all those who had agitated against the presence of American troops and in general exhibited criticism of the Government policy.

An event of some significance was the reported closure of the Communist organ *Hsin Hua Jih Pao* in Kunming, after riots had broken out in several hsien in Yunnan province. The *Chung Yang Jih Pao*, official KMT organ, said the natives of these hsien were greatly aroused and had demanded the suspension of the paper. "In compliance with their wishes and in order to prevent the outbreak of any untoward incident, the Provincial Government ordered the paper closed down."

Native Goods Promoted

THE first occurrence of its kind in the post-war period was reported last week when one prominent department store along Nanking Road started a drive to promote the sale of native products. All imported goods were removed from its counters.

This move was initiated to "promote native products and boycott U.S. goods," a campaign which has been steadily gaining ground, in particular "after the February 9th incident."

Local student bodies published a pamphlet describing in detail the actual events which led to the abovementioned incident and refuted official statements to the effect that the whole affair was a brawl and not a premeditated breakup of the meeting.

A six-point plan was drafted by students of local public schools to further this campaign and included the registration of foreign goods previously in stock which would be liable to confiscation in case the shopowners do not abide by the plan.

Gold Case "Tiger" Said Located

HSUEN Tieh-wu, Woosung-Shanghai Garrison commander, issued an order this week for the arrest of the Sin Ta Cotton Trading Company's proprietor, Sun Tse-sin, who is charged with having bought no less than 2,219 gold bars between January 22 and February 15. He is further charged with airlifting these bars for sale in outports at a tremendous profit. Sun is said to be a native of Shansi and an important member of the Shansi dealer group here.

Reds Leave Peiping For Yenan

WHILE the Communist liaison offices in Nanking, Shanghai and Chungking will not close down unless a formal notification is received from the Government, Executive Headquarters representatives headed by Gen. Yeh Chieh-ying left for Yenan aboard a U.S. plane.

The party was seen off by Gen. Alvin C. Gillem, head of the American branch of the former headquarters, and Nationalist Chief of Staff of the Government branch Tsai Wen-chih.

As the 19 representatives boarded the plane, Gen. Yeh said: "I sincerely believe that the efforts of Gen. Marshall and America during the past year in helping China to win the peace have not been in vain. Peace will prevail. It is only a matter of time. Long Live Chinese-American cooperation!"

As the Reds' departure accentuated the final break in the KMT-Communist talks and the continuation of civil war in earnest, the Young China Party listed 70 of its members as delegates to participate in the reorganized Government.

Among the delegates 12 were listed for the Legislative Yuan, seven for the control Yuan, 11 for the PPC and 40 for the Constitution Enforcement Committee.

It is significant that neither the Young China Party nor the Democratic Socialist Party, which submitted its list of delegates last week, mentioned any participants in the Executive Yuan, which fact would indicate that this branch of the reorganized Government would remain under the sole jurisdication of the Kuomintang.

Fighting Said Growing

THE Generalissimo's visit to Tsinan, in Shantung, was said to be directly connected with the report that the Communists had launched a counter-offensive in that area. Following the fall of Linyi, the importance of which was discounted by General Chu Teh in Yenan, the Communists are now battling near Laiwu and Poshan, coal mining centers about 48 miles east of Tsinan. Yenan claims that the entire Nationalist 77th Division has been wiped out in the fighting there.

Gen. Chen Yi's forces retreating from Linyi were said to be repulsing attacks of Nationalist troops which pursued them to Mengyin and, according to Government sources, were attempting to break out of the government ring.

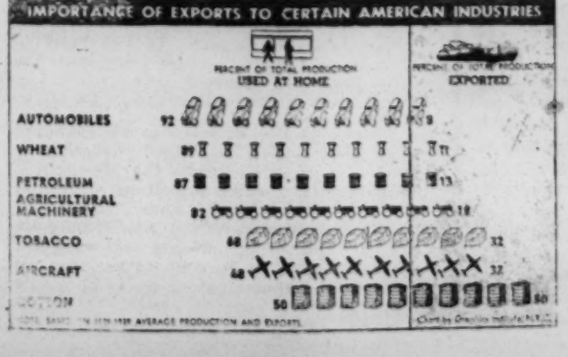
In central Shantung, Gen. Wang Yao-wu's forces stormed into Yuncheng, 30 miles northwest of Tsining.

A significant report from northern Kiangsu said that 20,000 Reds had infiltrated into Szeyang, 18 miles northwest of Huaiyin, and are also attacking Tsunghingchen in an attempt to cross the Lutang River. This report carried by the *Hsin Min Pao* after Government circles asserted that the north Kiangsu pacification campaign had come to an end was highly controversial.

More than 1,000 Communist guerrillas occupied the town of Hsinwanhu, 27 miles northwest of Shanghai, north of the Yangtze River.

Chou Welcomes Americans

IN Yenan, Gen. Chou En-lai reiterated the Communist welcome to all foreigners, in particular to American merchants and correspondents, to visit the "liberated areas." He told the *United Press* that the welcome was extended to all "American correspondents who can arrive



What U.S. Papers Say . . .

CHINA'S economic crisis aroused considerable editorial comment in the United States during the week. The consensus of opinion was that corruption and misgovernment, together with the civil war, were largely responsible.

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EMERGENCY MEASURES

COMMENTING on the new economic measures announced by the Chinese Government, U.S. papers showed an increasing awareness of the contribution of corruption in high places to China's economic ills. They were also anxious to refute any responsibility on the part of the United States, because of her withdrawal from the mediator's role, for China's economic crisis.

The *Kansas City Times* remarked that events "since General Marshall left China have served only to enhance the urgency of his prescription to Chiang for thorough political house-cleaning."

Flatly blaming "misgovernment and civil war," for China's ills, the *Washington Post* opined that the Generalissimo "who is personally honest and high-principled . . . has ordered the return to China of the vast holdings abroad of Chinese citizens. If he succeeded in his quest he would be pained and surprised by the revelations. . . .

"Much more salutary than the order that all foreign holdings must be reported is the order taking the State out of business. This may serve to deny grafters in Nanking an avenue of enrichment which has swollen their foreign holdings . . .

"It is charged, doubtless by men in Nanking who feel the pinch of some of Chiang Kai-shek's orders, that our withdrawal from China is responsible for the present trouble. That is, of course, an alibi . . . The currency crisis is a Chinese creation. It arises, to repeat, out of misgovernment and civil war, and not until peace and some order in government have been restored to the people and their deep-seated trading instincts have been allowed to function, will the situation be cured. It is a pity that Chiang Kai-shek should have seen fit to stop trading in a currency, i.e., the American dollar, which has become a world medium. But he has certainly given a first sign that he wants to clean house in Nanking."

According to *The Roanoke Times* (Virginia), "Americans have come to realize that there is right and wrong on both sides, as far as China's disputing factions are concerned, and that many of the reforms on which the Communists are insisting as a preliminary condition to laying down their arms are needed and justified. Until graft and corruption are banished and the welfare of China's teeming masses is made the paramount consideration, the Kuomintang cannot expect American support . . . American withdrawal from China signifies . . . recognition that Chiang Kai-shek has not carried out his promises to reorganize the Government in a satisfactory manner . . . There had to be an end to American patience some time."

The New York Herald Tribune saw hope of an end to bureaucratic industry. "The steps taken by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to meet China's financial crisis were drastic but it must be admitted that nothing less than radical action would do. China's survival as a nation was at stake, as the Generalissimo pointed out. Chinese economy was at the point of collapse. It would have collapsed long ago, in fact, except for the fact that most Chinese live as subsistence farmers and rarely find reason to handle much money.

"Two of the most startling actions of the Generalissimo were his order that private fortunes be brought home, and his decision that the Government should get out of industry. The first of these, if obedience is enforced, will return to China the wealth of some of the country's leading men—men so powerful that they rank not far below Chiang himself. The second, if not ignored in practice, may reverse the current economic development of China, where the tendency has been for government monopoly and private monopolies controlled by potent families to take over one business after another. This seemed to be creating an economy somewhat similar to that of prewar Japan and, so far as the future was concerned, not much less dangerous.

"Government ownership in China (as well as ownership by groups with access to government funds) encounters situations peculiar to the country. These probably explain the Generalissimo's decision to abandon Socialist experiments. One factor in the picture is that because of the country's lack of capital goods, tremendous government expenditures abroad are needed for any large-scale (venture) in government ownership. Another is that nepotism greatly increases costs. Under the Chinese family system, the first obligation of any man is to take care of his relatives. This increases temptation to overload government payrolls. In private industry, an owner insists on making at least a small profit after taking care of as many relatives as he can afford, but in government industry, the manager adds endless relatives to the payroll on the ground that it's all government money anyway."

The *Tribune* also emphasizes the need for thorough governmental reform. "If there is merely another game of musical chairs, with incompetent and corrupt reactionaries shifting from one group of offices to another, economic disaster can be predicted with assurance. But real reform on all levels, with the rascals booted out, would have meaning for both the present and the future."

here despite the Kuomintang blockade."

General Chu Teh, interviewed by the same agency, said that the Communists were not in occupation of Dairen and added that "our troops have never entered Dairen," He also stressed that "Under the Sino-Soviet Treaty Dairen is a free port and there are no troops there from any country, including Russia."

Sino-P.I. Differences

A SERIES of official exchanges and commentaries occurred last week between the representatives of China and the Philippines over alleged discrimination against Chinese merchants in the islands, reportedly the cause of the breaking off of talks for a treaty of amity between the two countries.

Elpidio Quirino, Vice-President and Foreign Minister of the Philippine Government, disclosed this week that the Chinese Government had insisted that a clause be inserted in the treaty draft giving Chinese nationals in the islands all the advantages the Philippines would give to a third party. The Chinese Government, however, had conceded that advantages given to American nationals would be treated in a different light.

Quirino said Chinese Minister Chen Chih-ping had objected to a reciprocity clause which would give Filipino nationals similar advantages in China.

It is notable that the Civil Liberties Union of the Philippines, which had campaigned against parity rights for Americnas in the islands, supported the stand taken by the Philippine Government on the Sino-Philippine treaty draft issue. Previously, Nanking terminated the treaty talks and accused the Philippine Government of pursuing an anti-Chinese policy.

Business Foot-Notes

The Central Trust is contemplating the purchase and export of egg products in view of the fact that private egg dealers have met with great financial difficulties, the price of eggs on local markets being higher than abroad. If the egg export trade can be arranged by the Central Trust, the sale of egg products on the British market alone would net the Government an annual £4,000,000 in foreign exchange.

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The Central Bank of China finally issued CNC$5,000 notes on February 24 in Chungking, Chengtu, Sian, Hankow and in this city. The notes are reported to have been printed by the Central Printing Plant in Chungking and Ta Yeh Printing Works at Loshan, several years ago, the *Sin Wan Pao* asserted.

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American coal exports to all countries for 1946 totaled 18,472,667 metric tons, which is about 500 times the prewar coal shipping rate when annual exports came to only 30,000 metric tons. Total U.S. coal production for 1946 was 482,630,400 metric tons of bituminous soft coal and 55,053,432 metric tons of anthracite. Of this total China received 41,545.34 metric tons.

What Chinese Papers Say...

A NOTABLE editorial on graft and corruption in local government appeared in the *Ta Kung Pao* this week. Other papers were largely concerned with Ambassador V.K. Wellington Koo's activities in the United States, and with the Chinese Government's plea for UNRRA aid to its own unpleasant financial position.

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CORRUPTION

THE *Ta Kung Pao* this week carried an appalling list of governmental abuses in the course of an editorial commenting on the present economic and social crisis. After enumerating several kinds of abuses arising from conscription, the collection of taxes and "voluntary" contributions, from the borrowing of foodstuffs, etc., the paper cited specific cases.

It charged numerous forms of squeeze and graft, that conscription and the requisitioning of foodstuffs give administrative personnel a good opportunity to get rich quick. In Kiangyin, Kiangsu, the Hsien Council has exposed a foodstuffs requisitioning scandal involving more than CNC$10,000,000,000. In Shanghsien, South Shensi, there has been a case in which a Government official embezzled more than 8,000 piculs of Government-owned rice. In South Anhwei there has been a case in which a Government official forced the farmers to sell their jute, thus embezzling more than CNC$20,000,000.

In Hunan Province there has been a case where a Government official charged with the task of purchasing military provisions embezzled CNC$350,000,000. A "Ch'u" chief in Nantung has been charged with embezzling military provisions, illegally selling Government-owned property, collecting taxes by armed force, illegally establishing tax-collecting agencies. Another "Ch'u" chief, who had been in office for only a few weeks, collaborated with the hsien magistrate in a scandal involving CNC$500,000,000.

In Ch'iung-yang, Anhwei, when the Hsien Council refused to approve an item in the budget, the employees of the hsien government stormed the Council's assembly hall and the chairman of the Council was pursued and beaten up. The paper mentioned another hsien district where, when the magistrate quit his job, he even failed to effect the hand-over.

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WELLINGTON KOO

CONSIDERABLE comment was accorded Ambassador V. K. Wellington Koo's conference with Marshall and his speech before the American Council of Industry and Commerce for the Far East in New York. The liberal *Sin Min Wan Pao* commented as follows:

"We can take no exception to the request for economic assistance which Ambassador V. K. Wellington Koo made to Secretary of State General George C. Marshall when the former called on the latter. However, it is reported that U.S. surplus munitions were also requested along with U.S. economic assistance, and this is what has scared us.

"Why must we ask for U.S. surplus munitions in trying to tide over the economic crisis confronting China: economic assistance and munitions do not seem to have anything to do with each other.

"It is only when the Government can prove that China's economic crisis is due to the lives of the people left alive after eight years of war against Japan, that the Government will be justified in exterminating these remaining persons by means of U.S. surplus munitions. But, as everyone knows, such an action on the part of the Government would be unjustifiable.

"As a result of the war against Japan, the able-bodied men in different parts of the country are almost all gone. Spare these remaining lives, because they cannot survive what U.S. surplus munitions would do to them."

According to the *Wen Hui Pao* (liberal-leftist) Ambassador Koo's conference with Gen. Marshall indicates that the Chinese Government is not naive enough to believe that the recently announced economic measures will solve the present crisis. It sees these measures as a gesture to bolster Koo's case and prove to America that China is still worth aiding. The paper opines that the Chinese people do not want American assistance to be tendered with conditions as they are now; that they believe American assistance would only prolong the civil war.

The KMT-supervised *Sin Wan Pao* applauded the Chinese Ambassador's visit to Marshall and his speech before the American Council of Industry and Commerce for the Far East. According to this paper he voiced the sentiments of the Chinese people. It avers that China obtained less lend-lease during the war than did other countries, and that financial assistance received from the United States since the war has been negligible.

Unless the criterion by which the United States determines the amount of loans to be extended to other countries is based on prejudice, her understanding of such a friendly nation as China is deficient. The paper asks why General Marshall has refused to increase financial aid to China when he knows that it is the Communists' policy to bring about economic collapse. His remissness, especially in view of the reforms taking place, is tantamount to aiding the Communists in overthrowing the government.

Who's Who in China

P. H HO, engineer, banker, and government official; born at Sunwui, Kwangtung, in 1896; graduated from St. John's University, Shanghai; went to the United States to further his studies from where he graduated from Illinois University,

Ho Pao-hsu

（霍寶樹字錫民）

Urbana, Ill., and Temple University Philadelphia, Pa.; upon returning to China, was appointed secretary of Reconstruction Office, Fukien Provincial Bureau of Reconstruction; chief secretary, Committee of Reconstruction, Fukien Provincial Government; chief secretary and later acting director, Reconstruction Office, Chekiang Provincial Government; director, Training Center of Personnel for Reconstruction, Chekiang Provincial Government; promoted director of Chekiang Provincial Bureau of Agriculture and Mining; director, Design Office, Committee of Reconstruction, Chekiang Provincial Government; director of Office of Enterprise of the same Committee; appointed assistant chief auditor, Bank of China; partner and concurrently Secretary-General of China Supply Company of Resources for National Defense; promoted assistant general manager and concurrently chief auditor of Bank of China; in 1946 appointed Director-General, Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration; author of following books; "Four Plans for China's Transportation," "Some Tentative Ideas about China's Economic Reconstruction," "Prerequisites for Realization of the First Stage of Economic Reconstruction." Address: Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Shanghai Branch, Foochow Road, Shanghai.

The Inspector General of the Chinese Maritime Customs revealed last week that the total seizures of smuggled goods amounted to CNC$11,181,549,000 during the year 1946. This total was distributed among the major Chinese ports, with CNC$2,760,214,000 in Shanghai, $938,059,000 in Kowloon, $922,240,000 in Tientsin, and about as much in Canton and Tsingtao. The main import items smuggled were cigarettes, dyestuffs, wheat flour, milk powder, kerosene, medicines, cosmetics, artificial silk piecegoods, cotton yarn and cotton piecegoods, while export items smuggled consisted of wood oil, tea, rice, salt, tin, silver dollars, quicksilver, fruits and groundnut oil.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Behaviorisms

THE CHRYSANTHEMUM AND THE SWORD: *Patterns of Japanese Culture by Ruth Benedict. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston,* 1946. 316 *pp.*, US$3. *Reviewed by Marion Barney.*

AMONG the myriad works on Japan which are appearing from sources well and ill-informed, this deserves attention. It is the result of a study of Japanese culture and personality, undertaken under the auspices of the Office of War Information, by a cultural anthropologist.

It is unfortunate that the author was unable to visit Japan. Her primary sources were Nisei and Japanese prisoners of war. Her secondary sources were, besides the many books written by Japanese and Westerners on the subject, Japanese popular movies and war propaganda. Mrs. Benedict's particular qualification for this work is, of course, her ability to compare the Japanese with other cultures. Her experience of Oriental cultures is wide, Mrs. Benedict having spent more than a decade in China as a member of the editorial staff of the *North-China Daily News*.

Rightly or wrongly, she has managed to expound a pattern of ideologies and behaviorisms which accounts for the peculiarities of the Japanese, according to Western standards. It is Mrs. Benedict's contention that Japanese ethics is concerned with winning the good opinion of others, rather than with an abstract morality. This accounts for their having been able, when militarism failed, to about face and try another tack to win respect among nations, without ideological strain.

According to this book, the Japanese are motivated, primarily, by fear of ridicule. Japanese society is highly stratified, and it is necessary to an individual's "amour propre" that he know how to conduct himself in his proper station on all occasions. He is at a loss in any situation for which a pattern of behavior has not been mapped out minutely and dictated by tradition. He must know exactly how much respect to accord every contact, whether his superior or inferior. Good intention counts for nothing. He is as despicable for a mistake as for a sin. He is responsible for every consequence of his most casual behavior.

Mrs. Benedict maintains that Japanese ethics is divided into several independent spheres — while there is nothing wrong with the gratification of sensual pleasures, many of which are frowned upon in the Occident, it must not be allowed to interfere with the more serious duties of life. As she puts it, the Japanese is constantly in moral debt—to the emperor, to his parents, to the casual stranger who has done him a favor. He is expected to protect his good name, whether by extreme loyalty or exacting revenge. His more serious obligations are endless and never to be discharged. So rigorous a code requires endless self-discipline, and is likely to create countless psychic stresses.

By Western standards, the whole thing sounds infinitely dreary. But Mrs. Benedict has managed to give a plausible explanations of apparent contradictions in Japanese behavior.

The method of such a study as this is to generalize from the particular. In some instances the author seems to have made her assertions too general. For instance, she states that China, unlike Japan, does not have feuds based on "giri" (obligation) to one's name. Perhaps these feuds are not characteristic of China, but they do take place, and are an important exception to the rule. It is reasonable to assume that Japanese customs are more homogenous than those of her enormous neighbor; however, it shakes one's faith in the investigator to catch her in a considerable inaccuracy.

Nevertheless, the book is a convincing one. More unusual for a scholarly project, it is extremely readable. Certainly, it emphasizes the mistake which can be made in judging another people's behavior according to our own specialized ethics.

Background Of News

THE EDUCATION OF A CORRESPONDENT *by Herbert L. Matthews. Published by Harcourt Brace and Co., New York,* 1946. 550 *pp.*, US$4. *Reviewed by S. E. Shifrin.*

TO believe one of foreign correspondent Matthews' earliest lessons that men learn by experience only, the practical impact of this sober book on readers should not amount to much. Years ago memoirs of correspondents were hitting the jackpot on U.S. best seller lists. Now they can reach a limited audience only. That may be the reason why Matthews takes for granted his readers' knowledge of European and world geography and does not bother to translate a few foreign quotations tossed in for good measure.

In spite of all his talk about the defeatism of "signing off" and exhortations to liberals to fight our mal de siecle—totalitarianism, it is a very tired man who is writing. A tired man who has taken the opportunity to catch up with the linotypes of the daily press and explain the background of some of yesterday's news and his attitude to it. But this is not only a justification of personal stands on a few things nearly forgotten now, it is the effort of a newsman to integrate his stand not only for his readers but also for himself, and show what makes a correspondent tick while he is on the job.

Very interesting and unconventional is his 200-page portrait of India, and surely if the yardstick of objectivity is criticism from all sides he will measure up. There are descriptions of the war in Abyssinia—when the author had some sympathy for the exploit—and the civil war in Spain when he had none for Franco and his cause. There is a short chapter on Fascist Italy, and a longer one on conditions in the country after the Armistice.

It could be that one of the mainsprings of Matthews' weariness of the spirit is his realization of the relative impotence of the individual newspaperman in actively influencing public opinion when reported reality does not jibe with popular misconceptions on the subject. He knows, too, through personal experience, how impossible it usually is to keep readers in a prolonged state of indignation when events justify it. Possibly it is not due to the often reiterated claim that the American is not politically conscious, but due to the fundamental adjustment trait of human nature.

If newspaper disptaches of eyewitnesses are raw material for future histories, memoirs of foreign correspondents over a long span of time are even more so.

Fisherboy

WHEN THE TYPHOON BLOWS *by Elizabeth Foreman Lewis. Published by The John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia* 1942. 237 *pp.*, US$2. *Reviewed by F. J. Chih.*

THIS is one of a series of six books on China produced in the last 12 years by Mrs. Lewis, who, like many other foreign sojourners in this country, quietly sat down and pounded out their impressions on or grouses against the Chinese or their government in their retired or declining years. This is on the one hand, to qualify themselves, as belonging to that elite class called "Old China Hands," and to "make their trip pay," so to say, on the other.

The subject of this novel is a common fisherboy and the fortunes and misfortunes that befell him during the first five years of the Sino-Japanese War. The transformation of this unfortunate urchin, one of millions in this country deprived of either the mediocre comforts of life or the minimum requirement of book learning, is the typical tale of one of the achievements of which foreign missionaries, with whom Mrs. Lewis was once connected in this country, can boast.

Li San-djeu (Li-39), was "educated" by working for the "foreigners" in a missionary hospital compound. However, it must be pointed out that Mrs. Lewis' fisherboy by no means represents the typical process by which a normal Chinese youth is ushered into society, much less the way youth was prepared during the war years.

Fortunately, the book is intended for domestic consumption by American children to whom China is an anachronism. Otherwise, Mrs. Lewis might very well have spent her retired years fishing or in some other form of relaxation, especially in view of the fact that what was the wartime glory of Free China is now an historical irony at a time when all hell has broken loose again in Old Cathay.

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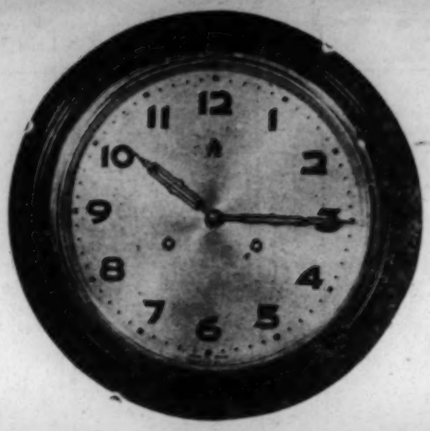

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NANKING-SHANGHAI LINE

TIME TABLE

4	6	8	2	10	12	72	"82	"84"	TRAIN NO.	1	5	7	3	9	11	71	81	83
I, II Exp.	I, II III Exp.	I, II Exp.	I, II N'king Excur. Throu. Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	I, II Night Exp.	I Wusih Excur.	I Wusih Excur.	I Wusih Excur.	STATIONS	I, II H'chow Excur. Throu Exp	I, II III Exp.	I, II Exp.	I, II Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	I, II Night Exp.	I Wusih Excur.	I Wusih Excur.	I Wusih Excur.
7 00	9.00	11.00	13.30	21.50	23.00	17.15	6.40	20.30	D SHANGHAI NORTH A	14.45	16.25	19.30	22.45	6.35	8.00	13.05	23.55	18.30
	10.16	12.14		23.23					D KUNSHAN D		15.24	18.15		5.28				
8.41	10.57	12.57	15.17	0.20	1.06	19.03	8.26	22.31	A SOOCHOW D	13.06	14.33	17.29	21.06	4.39	5.39	11.12	21.52	16.40
8.48	11.06	13.04	15.26	0.27	1.13	19.09	8.31	22.38	D SOOCHOW A	12.59	14.19	17.21	20.58	4.32	5.19	11.06	21.46	16.46
9.36	11.54	13.55	16.14	1.22	2.08	20.00	9.25	23.30	A WUSIH D	12.11	13.24	16.27	20.10	3.39	4.26	10.15	20.55	15.40
9.42	12.06	14.02	16.23	1.29	2.15				D WUSIH A	12.04	13.18	16.21	20.03	3.33	4.19			
10.31	12 59	15.01	17.09	2.27	3.13				A CHANGCHOW D	11.17	12.22	15.20	19.16	2.35	3.30			
10.40	13 08	15.15	17.19	2.37	3.25	Suspended on Sunday	Run on Sunday	Run on Sunday	D CHANGCHOW A	11.06	12.09	15.08	19.06	2.24	3.20	Suspended on Sunday	Run on Saturday	Run on Sunday
11.38	14 00	16.13		3.56	4.29				A TANYANG D		11.09	14.05	18.12	1.07	2.03			
11.41	14.03	16 17		4.00	4.33				D TANYANG A		11.05	13.55	18.03	1.02	2.00			
12.18	14.40	17.01	18.46	4.46	5.18				A CHINKIANG WEST D	9.32	10.28	13.07	17.23	0.09	1.07			
12.25	14.45	17.17	18.53	4.55	5.27				D CHINKIANG WEST A	9.24	10.21	12.59	17.15	23.56	1.00			
13.55	16.10	18 50	20.20	6.30	7.15				A NANKING D	8.00	9.00	11.00	15.45	22.00	23.00			

FARE LIST

STATIONS	Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express		"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Excursion Through Expresses I	"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Excursion Through Expresses II	"Tai Hu" Excursion
SHANGHAI N. TO:—										
KUNSHAN	52	4,000.	10,000.	2,000.	5,000.	1,000.	2,500.			
SOOCHOW	87	8,000.	10,000.	4,000.	5,000.	2,000.	2,500.	19,500.	10,500.	20,000.
WUSIH	129	10,000.	12,000.	5,000.	6,000.	2,500.	3,000	19,500.	10,500.	20,000.
CHANGCHOW	168	14,000.	16,000.	7,000.	8,000.	3,500.	4,000	19,500.	10,500.	
TANYANG	213	16,000.	20,000.	8,000.	10,000.	4,000	5,000.	30,000.	16,500.	
CHINKIANG WEST	243	18,000.	22,000.	9,000.	11,000.	4,500.	5,500.	30,000.	16,500.	
NANKING	312	24,000.	28,000.	12,000.	14,000.	6,000.	7,000.	30,000.	16,500.	

SHANGHAI-HANGCHOW LINE

TIME TABLE

23	21	61	67	25	1	41	TRAIN NO.	92	42	2	68	26	22	62	94
I, II III Exp.	West Lake Throu	II, III Ord.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	I, II H'chow Throu. Exp.	II, III Ord.	STATIONS	I, II III Local Exp.	II, III Ord.	I, II N'king Throu. Exp.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	West Lake Excur.	II, III, IV Ord.	I, II III Local Exp.
6.45	8.00	8.15		11.30	16.00	16.15	D SHANGHAI NORTH A	9.15	12.15	12.35		18.55	20.05	22.30	
7.05	8.16	8.36	9.00	11.53	16.19	16.36	D SHANGHAI WEST D	8.58	11 55	12.20	17.20	18.37	19.49	22.13	
7.49		9.46	10.29	12.38	17.03	17.46	A SUNGKIANG D	7.51	10.44	11.26	15.29	17.48		21.00	
7.54		9.56	10.40	12.43	17.08	17.51	D SUNGKIANG A	7.47	10.38	11.21	15.22	17.39		20.54	
9.02	10.02	11.40	12.50	13.50	18.16	19.23	A KASHING D	6.35	9.04	10.13	13.10	16.20	17.54	19.25	
9.16	10.08	11.50	13.15	13.58	18.26	19.33	D KASHING A		8.55	10.04	12.45	16.11	17.47	19.12	20.50
10.00		12.33	14.52	14.32	19.01	20.16	D YEHZAH D		8.14	9.31	11.53	15.39		18.29	20.18
10.31		13.18	15.56	15.04	19.32	21.01	A CHANGAN-TSENG D		7.27	8.58	10.40	15.06		17.42	19.34
10.36		13.26	16.10	15.11	19.37	21.06	D CHANGAN-TSENG A		7.22	8.54	10.27	15.02		17.37	19.27
11.30	11.55	14.45	18.10	16.20	20.30	22.20	A HANGCHOW D		6.10	8.00	8.30	14.00	16.00	16.25	18.25

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SHANGHAI N. TO:—										
SUNGKIANG	45	4,000.	10,000.	2,000.	5,000.	1,000.	2,500.	19,500.	10,500.	
KASHING	99	8,000.	10,000.	4,000.	5,000.	2,000.	2,500.	19,500.	10,500.	15,000.
YEHZAH	126	10,000.	12,000.	5,000.	6,000.	2,500.	3,000.	19,500.	10,500.	
CHANGANTSENG	151	12,000.	14,000.	6,000.	7,000.	3,000.	3,500	19,500.	10,500.	
HANGCHOW	190	14,000.	18,000.	7,000.	9,000.	3,500.	4,500.	19,500.	10,500.	25,000.

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